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OF THE

ADMIRALS,

And other EMINENT

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With many curious Passages relating to our Discoveries,
PLANTATIONS, and COMMERCE.

The whole supported throughout by proper Authorities,

By JOHN CAMPBELL, Efq;

VOL. II.

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To the RIGHT HONOURABLE

J O H N,

Earl of Sandwich, Viscount Hinchinbroke, and Baron Montague of St. Neots.

THAT a Book on this Subject is humbly offered to your Lordship's Patronage, will not, I hope, appear more strange to your Lordship, than it would have done to the World, if, having a fair Opportunity of approaching so illustrious a Person, I had turned my Eye elsewhere.

OUR general Histories abound with the glorious Actions of Your immortal Ancestors; and those of particular Reigns enter more minutely into their Characters, as possessing the highest Dignities in the Church, presiding in our Courts of Law, and distinguishing themselves in our Councils, and Senates, by an Eloquence to which there was no-

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DEDICATION.

thing equal, but their Probity. Your Lordship's glorious Ancestor, the heroic Earl of SANDWICH, who chose to die, rather than run the Hazard of staining his Country's Honour, by being made a Prisoner, is the most thining Character in this Book; and yet I renounce your Lordship's Favour, if in any Thing I have faid, I exceed the Truth.

WITH the utmost Pleasure, therefore, I embrace this Occasion of sheltering myself, and my Writings, under the Protection of a Nobleman, whose early Virtues have given him a Title to the Respect of all Parties, and from whom, the prefent Age feem justly to expect, as much as any of

his predecessors have performed.

With the deepest Submission,

And Respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most humble and

Most devoted Servant,



Jack of the Diffirm

PREFACE.

HE Nature and Design of this Work have been already so fully accounted for in the Preface to the first Volume, that I have bere nothing farther to for to the Reader upon either Head. All I intend bere, is, to offer a Thought or two as to the principal Subjests of the ensuing Volume. Our general Histories are most of them written with such a visible Spirit of Party, that it is a very difficult Thing to collect the Truth from them, even as to Falts; for this Reason, I have very carefully examined all the little Pieces of History that were written in the Times of which I treat, and which, as they relate Things immediately after they bappened, seem most likely to be free from Prejudice and Mistakes. With the same View, I have consulted Historians of other Countries, particularly the Dutch and French, whom I have constantly followed, where I believed they were in the Right, and from whom, when I have feen Cause to differ, I have generally explained myself as to the Reason.

IN the Memoirs, I have given of illustrious Seamen, my principal Endeavour has been to set their Characters in a true Light, and I have been very sparing with Respect to A 3 such

The PREFACE.

fuch Circumstances, as seem to charge a Garden, more than an Historian; and for this Russia. I follow to distinct or lower in the Family, than the Earlin of the Little. Where I have bad but little to far, I have described little, in hopes of inclining sach, as we than the contained with the Particulars relating to that Parlie a contained cate these Accounts, so that whenever the fewer contains to another Edition, they may be made Use of.

Plantations, and Increase of Commerce, within this Period, will, I conceive, give the Reader as much Satisfaction as any Part of the Book. The Neval Power of Britain, is owing in its Commerce, as our Commerce has been greatly extended in Consequence of our Colonies, and most of those Wars which we have prosecuted by Sea, have arisen from Disputes about our Trade, so that all these Subjects have a natural Connection, I thought one could not be well understood without having a proper Respect to the rest, which led me to treat more largely on these Heads, than in the preceding Part of the History. If the whole should any Way contribute to preserving the Momeries of those illustrious Persons whose Memoirs I have collected, and thereby heighten that Spirit of supporting our just Pretensions as a Naval Power, which seems to be the abief Virtue of the present Age, it will fully answer my Purpose, and greatly over-ballance any Pains I have taken unit it.

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e es es che l'orthe et Loughous Ca Ha Ao Prio L'accite de very Authority to not Paul, were arour well affected to king James, or al-

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The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN under the Reign of King James I. including also an Account of the Progress of our Trade, and the Growib of our Plantations; together with Memoirs of the most eminent Seamen who flourished in that Space of Time.

HERE were many Accidents that contributed to the peaceable Accession of the King of Scots to the English Throne, notwithstanding what had happened to his Mother, and the known Aversion of the Nation to the Dominion of Strangers. On the one Hand, the famous Secretary Cecil and all his Friends, who were in the principal Posts of the Government, had been for a long Time fecretly in King James's Interest, though, to avoid the Suspicion of their Mistress, they had **fometimes**

fometimes pretended an Inclination to the Infanta's Title"; which I suspect to have been the Cause, why same Person of great Quality, who sided with the Cocils against Essen, came afterwards to fall into Intrigues with the Court of Spain. On the other Hand, the potent Family of the Howards, with all such of the Nobility and Gentry as were inclined to the old Religion, had an unfeigned Affection for the King of Scots. The Bulk of the People too were inclined to with him for their King, out of Respect to the Memory of Effex, who was held to be hi tyr, as well, as out of Dillike to fome of Queen Elizabeth's Ministry, who they believed would be instantly discarded, when he should be once seated on the Throne. Yet there wanted not many powerful Enemies to this Succession both abroad and at home. The Spaniards had Views for themselves, the French King had an Aversion mixed with Contempt for King James, and the Pope had many Projects for restoring his Power here, by bringing in some Prince of his own Religion 4. There were, besides, some English Pretenders, viz. such as claimed under the House of Suffolk, and had been Competitors to Queen Mary s and some again, as the Bassets, who affected to derive themselves from the House of Plantagenet, so that some Precaution was necessary to prevent any Disturbance on the Death of the Queen, or Opposition to the Design the Ministry had formed, of immediately proclaiming King James, and bringing him with all convenient Speed to London.

In the Methods made Use of for this Purpose, the Wisdom of the great Men by whom they were concerted was very conspicuous. For, in the first Place, Care was taken that the Lieutenants in the Northern Counties, and all who had any Authority in those Parts, were either well affected to King James, or absolute Dependants on the Administration. Then, as to the Fleet, which was of mighty Consequence at such a Juncture, Provision was made for its Security without the least Jealousy given that this was the Council's Intention. For, it having been found of great Benefit to the Nation to have a strong Squadron of Ships on the Spanish Coast from February to November, there could be no Umbrage taken at the increasing of these in the Spring of the Year 1602, because the War with Spain still continued:

* Sir Henry Wotton's Remains, p. 211. Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, Osborne's Works, vol. ii. p. 104. b Stowe, Speed, Wilfon, Baker, Echard, Rapin. Dolman's Treatise of the Succession. d Lettres du Cardinal d'Ossat. Treatise of the Succession, p. 196. Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 114. Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. i, col. 366. Speed, Echard, Rapin.

continued; and though the Lords had little Confidence in Sir Richard Levelon, who for some Years had been intrusted with this Command, yet they would not remove him, but contented themselves with appointing Sir William Monfon, on whom they could depend, his Vice-Admiral, giving him, however, the Command of a better Ship than the Admiral himself had. They likewise intimated to Sir William, when he went to his Command, (the Queen being then so low that her Recovery was not expected) that in case of any Stir, Lord Thomas Howard should immediately come and take charge of the Fleet, by entering Sir William Monfon's Ship, and Sir William go on Board Sir Richard Leveson's, with a Supersedeas to his Commission & But, as it fell out, there was no Occasion for executing this Project: the Queen died, King James came in peaceably, was proclaimed the twenty-fourth of March 1602, and crowned on the twenty-fifth of July following; the Fleet in the mean Time keeping sometimes on the English, sometimes on the French Coast, and thereby preventing any Trouble from abroad, if any fuch had been intended.

Krng James, at his Accession to the English Crown, was about thirty-fix Years of Age, and, if he had been a private Person, would not have rendered himself very remarkable either by his Virtues or his Vices. Sober and religious he certainly was; and as to Learning, he had enough of it, if he had known better how to use it. The greatest of his Failings were Timorousness, Diffimulation, and a high Opinion of his own Wisdom; which, however, were more excusable than Modern Writers are willing to allow, if we confider the Accident that happened to his Mother before his Birth, the strange Treatment he met with in Scotland from the several Factions prevailing in that Kingdom during his junior Years, and the excessive Flatteries bestowed on him after he came hither, by all Ranks of People. The Nature of this Work does not lead me to speak of any Part of his Administration, except that which relates to Maritime Affairs, and therefore I shall content myself with observing, that, though it was impossible for him to have made himself much acquainted with fuch Matters while he continued in Scotland, yet it does not at all appear, that he was negligent of Naval Affairs, after he was once seated on the English Throne, unless his hasty Conclusion of a Peace with Spain (which, however, was done by the Advice of his Council) may be reckoned an Error in this Respect; or his too great Fear of engaging in any War afterwards, should be so accounted. THE

THE Accession of King James gave a fair Opportunity to the House of Austria, to make an End of the long Quarrel which had subsisted between it and Buyland; because during all that Time they had been in Peace and Amity with King James as King of Scots 1. Immediately after his Arrival at London, the Arch-Duke fent over a Minister to the English Court, and in consequence of his Negotiations, a Peace was soon after concluded with Spain 1. Some of the Writers of those Times tell us, that it was chiefly brought about by the large Bribes given to all the King's Ministers and Favourites, especially to the Countefs of Suffolk, for her Hulband's Interest, and to the Earl of Northumberland, for his own; which Gratuities they would further perfuade us, enabled them to build the two famous Structures of Audley- End in Effex, and Northumberland-House in the Strand! It feems, however, more reasonable to conclude, that this Peace was the Effect of the King's Inclination, Supported by the Advice of his most eminent Statesmen, some of whom were known to have been for this Measure in the Queen's Time ". There were two Treaties, one of Peace and Alliance, the other of Commerce, both figned at London the eighteenth of August 1604", the Constable of Castile, the greatest Subject in Spain, being fent over for that Purpose. All the Trading Part of the Nation were very well pleafed with this Proceeding, and would have been much more fo, if the King had not taken a very strange Step upon its Conclusion. He erected a Company of Merchants, who were to carry on the Spanish Commerce exclufively, which gave both just and general Offence; for as the whole Nation had borne the Expence of the War, and Trade in general had fuffered thereby, it was but reasonable that the Benefits of Peace should have been as universal. This Evil. however, was of no long Continuance; the Parliament reprefented to the King fo clearly the Mischies that would attend fuch a Monopoly, that his Majesty was content to dissolve the new-erected Company, and to leave the Spanish Trade entirely open °. IT

See Camden's Annals of King James's Reign. Stowe, Wilson, Sanderson, Echard, Rapin.

* Stowe's Annals, p. 844. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts p. 229.

Osborn's traditional Memoirs of the Reign of King James, in his Works, vol. ii. p. 105. Sir A. W. Court and Character of King James, Wilson, Rapin.

* See the Life of Lord Burleigh written by one of his Domestics in Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, vol. i.

Rymer's Fædera, vol. xvi. p. 579—596. Stowe's Annals, p. 846.

Rapin, Lediard, &c.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that there was a very ftrong Party against making this Peace, and who did not cease to publish their Apprehensions concerning it, even after it was concluded?. The Point was certainly of great Importance. otherwife it would not have been fo warmly canvaffed in those Days; and it must also have been pretty difficult, fince the Difpute has reached even to our Time, modern Writers differing as much about the Wildom of King James in this Article, as those, who lived in his Time. To discuss the Matter here, would require more Room than we have to spare; to pass it entirely over would be wrong, confidering the near Relation it has to the Subject of this Work. I will, therefore content myself with stating the best Reasons that have been offered against the Peace, as they were drawn up by the mafterly Hand of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the Answers given to them; both which I will leave to the Reader's Confideration, without any Comment of my own . Sir Walter's Reasons were five, turning on the Inability of the King of Spain to continue the War, and the mighty Profits he was likely to reap from the Conclusion of the Peace. T. He alledged, That his Catholic Majefty had fo exhanfted his Treasure, that he was no longer able to maintain the Arch-Duke's Army in Flanders: To this it was answered, that the Fact was very doubtful, especially if the King of Spain was in a Condition to beflow those mighty Bribes that were talked of at the Time this Peace was made. 2. The Interruption of bis Trade, and the Leffes of his Merchants were fo great, as to break both bis Banks at Seville. It is granted, that the Subjects of the King of Spain suffered excessively by the Continuance of this War, but it does not follow that we gained in Proportion; nor is it clear that, if his Catholic Majefty had been undone. the King of Great-Britain or his Subjects would have been Gainers. 2. He was afraid that the English and Netherlanders would plant in the West-Indies. If this Fear drove him to grant us better Terms, it was our Advantage; if not, we could have obtained little by fettling in those Parts of America which are claimed by Spain; and it was never pretended that we made this War to extend the Trade of the Dutch. 4. The King of Spain makes this Peace to recruit his Coffers, and enable bimself to break into War again. To judge by what was past,

P Camden's Annals, of King James, Wilson's History, Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 7. ^q These are to be found in Sir Walter's Dialogue between a Recusant and a Jesuit, among the genuine Remains published at the End of an Abridgment of his History of the World, by Philip Ralegh, Esq; 8vo. 1700.

this could not well be the Motive; for it could hardly be fupposed that Spain would soon recover as great Strength as she had at the Commencement of the War, when yet the was unable to execute her own Projects, or to defend herself against us. 5. The King of Spain took this Step, that the English might decline, and forget the Paffages and Pilotage to the West-Indies, and their Sea-Officers be worn out; for, except a little Trade for Tobacco. there is not a Ship that fails that Way, and feeing the Spaniards ray hang up the English, or put them to Death by Torments, as they do, and that the English dare not offend the Spaniards in those Parts, a most notable Advantage gotten in the Conclusion of the Peace! it is certain that the English will give over that Navigation to the infinite Advantage of the Spanish King, both present and future. Experience shewed, that, though this was a plaufible, yet it was not a true Deduction; for in Consequence of this Peace, many Plantations were fettled, and our Trade to America in particular, as well as our Commerce in general, flourished beyond the Example of former Times. Instead of Objections, which are eafily framed against the best Measures by Men of quick Parts, and much political Knowledge, it would have been more to the Purpole to have shewn what Advantages we were to reap from the Continuance of the War, and how it might have been better ended than by fuch a Peace.

BUT if this Treaty gave some Diffatisfaction at home, it raised no less Discontent abroad. The Hollanders, who were left to shift for themselves, and who had reaped so great Advantages from the Favour of Queen Elizabeth, were exceedingly exasperated at a Step so much to their Disadvantage. But as they found themselves still strong enough, not only to cope with the Spaniards, but also to make a greater Figure than most other Nations at Sea, they lost that Respect which was due to the English Flag, and began to assume to themselves a kind of equality even in the Narrow Seas. This was quickly represented to the King as an Indignity not to be borne, and thereupon he directed a Fleet to be fitted out, the Command of which was given to Sir William Monson, with Instructions to maintain the Honour of the English Flag, and that Superiority which derived to him from his Ancestors in the British Seas . This Fleet put to Sea in the Spring of 1604, and was continued annually under the same Admiral, who appears to have been a Man of Spirit and Experience; for, as he tells us in his own Memoirs, he served in the first ship of War fitted out in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Sir William Monfon's Naval Tracts, p. 237.

Elizabeth, and was an Admiral in the last Fleet she sent to Sea. Yet he found it a very difficult Matter to execute his Commiffion; the Dutch, whenever he conferred with any of their chief Officers, gave him fine Language and fair Promises; but they minded them very little, taking our Ships on very frivolous Pretences, and treating those they found on board them with great Severity, till fuch time as it appeared the Admiral would not bear such Usage, and began to make Reprisals, threatning to hang, as Pyrates, People who shewed themselves such in their Actions. There were also high Contests about the Flag, which began through some accidental Civilities paid to the Hollanders. in the late Reign, when they failed under the Command of Englifb Admirals, upon joint Expeditions, and were on that account treated as if they had been her Majesty's Subjects; which Fayours they now pretended to claim as Prerogatives due to them in Quality of an independent State . We have no Matters of very great Importance to treat of in this Reign, and therefore I think it will not be amis to give the Reader an Account in Sir William Monfon's own Words, of the Spirit with which he infifted on Satisfaction from the Dutch on this Head, whereby the Right of the English Flag, which has been so much stood upon fince, was established with Regard to this Republic; the rather because I know there are many who will scarce believe, that Matters of this Nature were carried fo far, (perhaps as far as ever they were carried) under so pacific a Prince.

"In my Return from Calais, fays Sir William, the 1st of July 1605, with the Emperor's Ambassador, as I approached near Dover-Road, I perceived an Increase of six Ships to those I lest there three Days before, one of them being the

Admiral; their coming in Shew was to beleaguer the Spani-

" ards, who were then at Dover.

"As I drew near them, the Admiral struck his Flag thrice, and advanced it again. His coming from the other Coast, at such a Time, caused me to make another Construction than he pretended; and indeed it so fell out, for I conceived his Arrival at that Time was for no other End than to shew the Embassador, who he knew would spread it abroad throughout all Europe; as also the Spaniards, that they might have the less Esteem of his Majesty's Prerogative in the Narrow Seas, that by their wearing their Flag, they might be reputed Kings of the Sea, as well as his Majesty; I hattened the Ambassa-

[•] See this Matter stated in Selden's Mare Clausum. Molloy de jure maritimo, Tit. Flag.

dor ashore, and dispatched a Gentleman to the Admiral, to entreat his Company the next Day to Dinner. which he wil-

" lingly promised.

"THE Gentleman told him, I required him to take in his Flag, as a Duty due to his Majesty's Ships: he answered that he had struck it thrice, which he thought to be a sufficient Acknowledgment, and it was no more than former Admirals

so of the Narrow Seas had required at his Hands.

"THE Gentleman replied, that he expected such an Answer from him, and therefore he was prepared what to say to that Point. He told him, the Times were altered; for when no more but striking the Flag was required, England and Holland were both of them in Hostility with Spain, which caused her late Majesty to tolerate divers Things in them; as for Instance, the Admiral's wearing his Flag in the Expedition to Gadiz, and the Islands, where the Lord Admiral of England and the Lord of Essex went as Generals, and that Courtesy they could not challenge by Right, but by Permission; and the Wars being now ceased, his Majesty did require by me, his Minister, such Rights and Duties as have formerly belonged to his Progenitors.

"THE Admiral refused to obey my Command, saying, he expected more Favour from me than from other Admirals, in respect of our long and loving Acquaintance; but he was answered, that all Obligation of private Friendship must be laid aside, when the Honour of one's King and Country is at stake. The Gentleman advised him in a friendly Manner to yield to my Demand; if not, he had Commission to tell him, that I meant to weigh Anchor, and come near him, and that the Force of our Ships should determine the Question; for, rather than I would suffer his Flag to be worn in View of so

es in the Sea.

"THE Admiral it feems, upon better Advice took in his Flag, and stood immediately off to Sea, firing a Gun for the rest of the Fleet to follow him. And thus I lost my Guest the next Day, at Dinner, as he had promised.

many Nations as were to behold it, I resolved to bury myself

"This Passage betwixt the Admiral and me, was observed from the Shore, People beholding us to see the Event. Upon my Landing, I met with Sciriago, the General of the Spani- ards, who in the Time of Queen Elizabeth, was employed under Mendoza, the Ambassador of Spain. He told me, that

" if the Hollanders had worn their Flag, Times had been ftrangely altered in England, fince his old Master King Phi-

ce lip

tip the Second, was shot at by the Lord Admiral of England, for wearing his Flag in the Narrow Seas, when he came to

66 marry Queen Mary 1."

THESE Disputes continued for many Years; and though, through the Vigilance of Admiral Monfon, the Dutch were defeated in all their Pretentions, and the Prerogatives of the Britiff Sovereignty at Sea, were thoroughly maintained; yet the Republic of Holland still kept up a Spirit of Resentment, which broke out in such Acts of Violence, as would not have been past by in the Days of Queen Elizabeth; yet our Admiral does not feem to charge the King, or his Ministry in general, with want of Inclination to do themselves Justice; but lays it expresty at the Door of Secretary Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salifbury; who thought it, he fays, good Policy to pass by such kind of Offences "; but he does not report any Reasons upon which that Kind of Policy was grounded: yet it did not absolutely, or constantly prevail, even in the Councils of King James; for upon some Surmises that Foreigners took unreasonable Liberties in fishing in our Seas, a Proclamation was published in the Year 1608, roundly afferting the King's Sovereignty in that Point, and prohibiting all foreign Nations to fish on the British Coast; this, though general in Appearance, had yet particular Relation to the Dutch, who found themselves so far affected thereby, especially when the King appointed Commissioners at London, for granting Licences to fuch Foreigners as would fish on the English Coast; and at Edinburgh, for granting Licences of a like Nature to fuch as would fish in the Northern Sea; and to these Regulations, though with great Reluctance, they submitted for the present; the Reason of which seems to be, their having then Affairs of greater Moment to manage with the Court of Great Britain w. In these, notwithstanding all that had passed, they succeeded, and two Treaties were concluded on the 26th of June 1608, between the Crown of Great-Britain, and the States-General; the one of Peace and Alliance, the

t Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 242, 243. "The Reader may consult the Dispatches of this great Minister, in Winwood's Memorials. The grand Point upon which the Hollanders stood, was our old Treaties with the House of Burgundy, which, they said, should be observed towards them. The Reason, probably, of Salisbury's countenancing them, was this, that his Father had advised Queen Elizabeth to insist on these Treaties as sufficient to justify her assisting the Provinces, notwithstanding her League with Spain. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 244, "Windwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 358, 359.

other for stating and settling the Debt due to King James. One would have imagined, that the Advantages obtained by these Treaties, should have brought the Republic to a better Temper, in respect to other Matters; but it did not, for within a short time after, they disputed paying the Affize-Herring in Scotland, and the Licence-Money in England; and to protect their Subjects from the Penalties which might attend such a Resusal, they sent Ships of Force to escort their Herring-Busses. These Facts, as they are incontestable, I think myself obliged to relate, though without the least Prejudice against the Dutch, who are a People certainly to be commended for all such Instances of their Public Spirit, as appear to be consistent with the Rights of

their Neighbours, and the Law of Nations 2.

THERE were also some Struggles in this Reign with the French, about the same Rights of Fishery, and the Sovereignty of the Sea, in which, through the vigorous Measures taken by Sir William Monfon, the Nation prevailed, and the Frenth were obliged to delift from their Practices of diffurbing our Fishermen, and otherwise injuring our Navigation . In 1614, the fame Admiral was fent to fcour the Scotch and Irish Seas, which were much infested with Pyrates. We need not much wonder at this, if we consider, that 'till King James's Accession to the Throne of England, there was little Naval Strength in this Country, and that in Ireland, the Spaniards, by frequently practifing this Pyratical Trade, during the War, had given the the barbarous Inhabitants such a Relish of it, that they could not forfake it in Time of Peace: yet the Noise their Depredations made, far exceeded the Damage; for when on the first of June, Sir William Monson made the Coast of Cathness, the most northern Part of Scotland, he found that instead of twenty Pyrates he expected to have heard of cruifing in those Parts. there were in Fact but two, one of which immediately furrendered, and the other was afterwards taken by the Admiral on the Coast of Ireland, where, by a proper Mixture of Clemency and Severity, he extirpated these Rovers, and reclaimed the Inhabitants of the Sea-Coast from their scandalous Way of Living. by affording Shelter and Protection to Pyrates, furnishing them with

Rymer's Fædera. Tom xvi. p. 674, et sequen.

Y Selden Mare Claus. lib. ii. cap. 31. ex Parliament. 4. Jac. 6. c. 60. et Parliament. 6. ejust. c 86.

The Vouchers for these Facts may all be found in the Paper-Office.

Stowe's Annals. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts p. 243.

with Provisions, and taking their Plunder in Exchange. This

Service Sir William performed in three Months b.

In 1617, Sir Walter Raleigh was released from his Imprisonment in the Tower, and had a Commission from the King, to discover and take possession of any Countries in the South of America, which were inhabited by Heathen Nations, for the Enlargement of Commerce, and the Propagation of Religion ; in the undertaking which Expedition, his Expences were borne by himself, his Friends, and such Merchants as entertained a good Opinion of the Voyage. His Defign has been variously represented, and I shall be at Liberty to examine it hereafter, more at large in its proper Place. At present, I am to speak of it only as a public Concern, in which Light it was justifiable beyond all Question, notwithstanding the Out-cries that were made against it by the Spaniards. It is indeed, pretty evident, that the Complaints of their Minister Don Diego Sarmiento a Acuna, so well known afterwards by the Title of Count Gondemar, were not so much grounded on any Notions he himself had of the Injustice of this Delign, as on a Piece of Spanish Policy, by raising a Clamour on false Pretences to discover the true Scope and Intent of Sir Walter's Voyage. In this he was but too successful; for upon his Representations, that excellent Person was obliged to give a distinct Account, as well of his Preparations for executing, as of the Defign he was to execute: and this (by what means is not clear) was communicated to the Spaniards, who thereby gained an Opportunity, first of disappointing him in America, and then of taking off his Head upon his Return, to the lasting Dishonour of this Reign, as well as the great Detriment of the Nation; for without all Doubt, this Project of Sir Walter Raleigh's for fettling in Guiana, was not only well contrived, but well founded; and, had it been followed, might have been as beneficial to Britain, as Brazil is to Portugal 4.

We come now to the only Naval Expedition of Consequence which was undertaken during the Time this King sat upon the Throne, I mean the Attempt upon Algiers. What the real Grounds were of this Romantic Undertaking, seems not easy to be discovered. The common Story is, that Count Gondemar having gained an Ascendancy over his Majesty's Understanding, persuaded him, contrary to his natural Inclination,

which

See the Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mr, Oldys, p. 96.

Vol. II.

Rymer's Fædera, vol. xvi. p. 789.

Rymer's Fædera, vol. xvi. p. 789.

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which seldom permitted him to act vigorously against his own Enemies, to fit out a formidable Fleet, in order to humble the Foes of the King of Spain . . But we have it from other Hands, that this was a Project of older standing, that the Earl of Nottingham had follicited the King to such an Expedition, before he laid down his Charge of Lord High-Admiral; and, that Sir Robert Mansel infused it into the Head of his Successor, Buckingham, that it would give a great Reputation to his Management of Naval Affairs, if such a Thing was entered upon in the Dawn of his Administration. As Buckingham easily brought the King to confent to whatever himself approved, there is the utmost Probability that it was by his Influence this Design was carried into Execution; notwithstanding that, Sir William Monfon, who had been consulted upon it, gave his Judgment, supported by strong and clear Arguments, that it was rash and ill founded, and that instead of raising the Reputation of the British Arms, it would only contribute to render them ridiculous, because the whole World could take Notice of the Disappointment, whereas only a few could judge of its real Causes; and of the little Reason there was to measure the Naval Strength of Britain thereby f.

In the Month of October 1620, this Fleet failed from Plymouth. It consisted of fix Men of War, and twelve stout Ships hired from the Merchants. Of these Sir Robert Mansel, then Vice-Admiral of England, had the Command in chief, Sir Richard Hawkins was Vice, and Sir Thomas Button Rear-Admiral, Sir Henry Palmer, Arthur Manwaring, Thomas Love and Samuel Argall, Esqrs; were appointed to be Members of the Council of War, and Edwark Clarke, Efg. was Secreta-On the twenty-seventh of November, they came to an Anchor in Algier-Road, and faluted the Town, but without receiving a fingle Gun in Answer. On the twenty-eighth, the Admiral sent a Gentleman with a White Flag to let the Turkish Vice-Roy know the Cause of his coming, who returned him an Answer by four Commissioners, that he had Orders from the Grand Seignior to use the English with the utmost Respect, to suffer their Men to come on Shore, and to furnish them with what Provisions they wanted. Upon this, a Negotiation enfued, in which it is hard to fay, whether the Turks or the Admiral acted with greater Chicanerce. The former refused to dismiss the Gentleman first sent unless an English Conful

[·] Camden, Wilson, Rapin, Burchet, Lediard. I Naval Tracts, p. 253.

Consul was left at Algiers, and the latter, to rid himself of this Difficulty, prevailed upon a Seaman to put on a Suit of good Cloaths, and to pass for a Consul; this Cheat not being discovered by the Turks, they sent forty English Slaves on board the Admiral, and promised to give him Satisfaction as to his other Demands; upon which, he sailed again for the Spanish Coast, attended by six French Men of War; the Admiral of this Squadron had struck to the English Fleet on his first joining it, which seems to have been the greatest honour, and perhaps the greatest

Advantage that attended this whole Expedition s.

Ir had been well if this Expedition had ended thus: but after receiving a Supply of Provisions from England, it was resolved to make another Attempt upon Algiers in the Spring, and, if possible, to burn the Ships in the Mole . Accordingly in the Month of May, the Fleet left the Coast of Majorca, and upon the twenty-first of the same Month anchored before Algiers, and began to prepare for the Execution of this Delign: Two Ships taken from the Turks, one of a hundred, the other of fixty Tons, were fitted up for this purpose. They were filled with dry Wood. Oakam, Pitch, Rofin, Tar, Brimstone, and other combustible Matter, and provided with Chains, Grappling-Irons, and Boats to bring the Men off; next followed the three Brigantines, which the Admiral bought at Alicant, with Fire-Balls, Backets of Wild-Fire, and Fire-Pikes to fasten their Fire-Works to the Enemy's Ships. They had also a Gunlod, fitted up with Fire-Works, Chains, and Grappling-Irons; the Gunlod was to be fired in the Midst of the Ships in the Mole, having likewise a Boat to bring off her Men. Seven armed Boats followed to fustain those of the Fire-ships, in case they were pursued at their coming off. These were likewise furnished with Fire-Works to destroy the Ships without the Mole.

THE Wind not being favourable, the Attempt was put off till the twenty-fourth, and blowing then at S. S.W. the Ships advanced with a brifk Gale towards the Mole; but when they were within less than a Musket-Shot of the Mole's Head, the Wind died away, and it grew so calm they could not enter. However, the Boats and Brigantines finding they were discovered, by the Brightness of the Moon, which was then at full, and hearing by

B 2

Purchas's Pilgrim, p. 881. Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 369. See also an Account of this Expedition, published by Authority in 1621.

h See the Relation of this Expedition before referred to, which is almost the only authentic Account we have of it; and yet it is an Account only on one Side, and was certainly written to justify the Undertaking.

a Christian Slave, who swam from the Town, that the Turks had left their Ships unguarded with only a Man or two in each of them, they resolved to proceed; which they did, but performed little or nothing, and then retired with the Loss of fix Men. After a Day or two's Stay they put to Sea, and in the Month of June returned to England. This ill concerted Enterprize had no other Effect, than that of exposing our own Commerce to the Insults of the Algerines, who did a great deal of Mischief, while we did them little or none; though two other Fleets were fent against them, one under the Command of the Lord Willoughby, and the other under that of the Earl of Denbigb; but both did so little, that very few of our Chronicles take Notice of them 1. Sir William Monfon has made some fevere but just Observations b upon these Undertakings, and particularly remarks, that not withstanding the whole Nation was grievously offended, as they will always be at such Miscarriages, yet they never had any Satisfaction given them; which irritated them exceedingly, and contributed not a little to raise that Spirit which vented itself afterwards in a Civil War.

IN 1623, happened the bloody Affair of Amboyna, of which I shall give a short and fair Account; because it gave Birth to our National Hatred of the Dutch, which subsisted long, and had such fatal Effects. By a Treaty concluded between Great-Britain and the United Provinces in 1619, it was stipulated amongst other Things, that, to prevent farther Disputes, the Dutch should enjoy two thirds of the Trade at Amboyna, and the English one. In Pursuance of this, a Factory was erected in that Island as well as other Places; yet in the Space of two Years, the Dutch grew weary of their Company, and, under a Pretence of a Plot, seized the principal Persons in the Factory, tortured them, and having extorted from them some Confessions, put as many of them as they thought fit to Death, and under a Shew of Clemency discharged the rest, seizing however, not only on this, but all the other Factories the English had in the Spice-Islands, and thereby engroffing that most valuable Trade to themselves. That this was really a Contrivance, seems to

In the Continuation of Stowe's Chronicle by Howes, there is not a Word of it, and in many other Books of the same kind, we are barely told when this Fleet sailed, and when it came back. There are three Discourses of his upon this Subject, one addressed to the Privy-Council, on the properest Method for attempting the Ruin of Algiers; another dissuading from that Enterprize; and the third on the Mistakes in this Expedition, wherein he observes, that, during all the Time they were out, they were but twenty Days at Sea.

be pretty plain, not to make Use of a stronger Word, from the following Circumstances which are incontestable. The English had only a House wherein their Factory resided; whereas the Dutch were possessed of a very strong Fort, the Number of the former did not exceed twenty, the latter had above two hundred garrisoned Soldiers in the Castle, and eight stout Ships riding in the Port. The Prisoners all denied it solemnly at their Deaths, and would have taken the Sacrament on the Truth of what they faid; but it was refused them by the Dutch !. But that I may not be suspected of Injustice towards the Dutch, I will transcribe their own Account of this Matter. " This Island, fays a Writer, who addressed his Work to the States of Holland, was a long Time the Subject of Dispute between the Dutch and English. The East-India Company, who had made themselves Masters of it, entered into a Treaty with the English for driving out the Portuguese and Spaniards; and by one of the Articles of this Treaty it was agreed, that they should furnish ten Men of War for this Purpose. They neglecting this Armament, the Indians of Ternate taking Advantage of the Weakness which this Omission of theirs had occasioned, agreed to a Suspension of Arms with the Spaniards, and having made an Alliance with the King of Tidore, who was an Enemy to the Dutch, attacked several Islands dependant on Amboyna, and having made themselves Masters of them resolved to attack the Citadel; and the English are faid to have been concerned with them in this Delign, which was discovered by a Japanese. The Governor heard from all Sides, that the English had taken his Citadel. Aftonished at these Reports, though false, he put himfelf on his Guard, and leized the Japanese, whom he suspected. This Man confessed that the English were engaged in a Conspiracy against the Governor, that taking Advantage of his Absence, the Citadel was to be seized, and that the Japanese in the Island had engaged to execute this Project. The Governor without Hefitation arrested all who were accused of having any Hand in this Design. The English confessed, that their Factor had fworn them upon the Gospel never to reveal the Secret; which, however, they did, and figned their Confessions, some freely, and the rest constrained thereto by the Violence of the Torture. They were all executed; and this is what is commonly called B 3

See a Pamphlet entitled, A true Relation of the unjust, cruel and barbarous Proceedings against the English at Aboyna, published by Authority 1624, 4to, and several other Tracts.

M. Basinage in his Annals des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 129.

called the Massacre of Amboyna. The English have always maintained, that this Crime was purely imaginary, and only made use of for a Pretext to sacrifice the Nation to the Vengeance of a Governor; and therefore they continued to demand Satisfaction for this Loss from 1623 to 1672, when through the indifferent State of their Assairs, they were glad to give it up." This Dutch Account, and indeed all the Accounts I have ever seen of their drawing up, sufficiently prove, that there was more of Policy than of any Thing else in this whole Proceeding, and that what the Dutch aimed at, was the excluding us from the Spice-Trade, in which they effectually prevailed.

IT is indeed strange, that considering the Strength of the Nation at Sea at the Time we received this Infult, and the quick Sense which the English always have of any National Affront, no proper Satisfaction was obtained, nor any vigorous Measures entered into in order to exact it. But the Wonder will in a great Measure cease, when we consider the State of the Crown, and of the People, at that Period. The King had been engaged for many Years in a tedious, dishonourable and distasteful Negotiation for the Marriage of his Son Prince Charles with the Princels of Spain; to the chimerical Advantages he proposed from this, he facrificed the Interest of his Family, the Glory of his Government, and the Affections of his People; and yet could never bring the Thing to bear, but was at last forced to break off the Treaty abruptly; and to think of entering upon a War, to which he had been always averse, especially at the Close of his Life and Reign. Such was the Situation of Things when this Accident happened at Amboyna; and therefore, though it made a great Noise, and occasioned much Expostulation with that Republic, yet the Attention of the Crown to the proposed War with Spain, and its Concern for the Recovery of the Palatinate, joined to the Necessity there was of managing the Dutch at so critical a Juncture, hindered our Proceeding any farther than Remonstrances, while our Competitors kept so considerable a Branch of Trade. I have taken the more Pains to fettle and clear up this Matter, because it is a full Proof of a Truth we ought never to forget, viz, That domestic Diffentions are particularly fatal to us as a trading Nation, and that it is impossible for us to maintain our Commerce in a flourishing Condition, if we do not at least enjoy Peace at Home, whatever our Circumstances abroad

"I know of nothing relating to Naval Affairs in this Reign which I have not already spoken of, except the sending a Fleet

to bring home Prince Charles from Spain, may be reckoned in that Number. It confilted, however, but of a few Ships, but in good Order, and well manned, fo that the Spaniards are faid to have expressed great Satisfaction at the Sight of it; which, however true or falle, is a Matter of no great Consequence. This Voyage, though a short one, gave Prince Charles some Idea of Maritime Affairs, which proved afterwards of Benefit to the Nation. The breaking the Spanish Match made Way for a War with that Kingdom, much to the Satisfaction of the . English Nation; but in the midst of the Preparations that were making for it, the King ended his Days at Theobald's on the 27th of March 1625, in the 50th Year of his Age, and in the twenty-third Year of his Reign ". His pacific Temper occafioned our having but little to fay in this Part of our Work; but before we proceed to mention the eminent Seamen who flourished in his Time, it will be proper to give the Reader a concile View of the Improvement of Trade and Navigation within this Period, as well as a brief Account of the Colonies settled under his Reign.

It has been already thewn, that under the Public-Spirited Administration of Queen Elizabeth, this Nation, first came to have a Notion of the Benefits of extensive Commerce, and began to think of managing their own Trade themselves which had been hitherto almost entirely in the Hands of Foreigners. So long as the War continued with Spain, our Merchants went on in a right Way; by which I mean, that they profecuted their private Advantage in such a Manner, as that it proved likewise of public Utility, by increasing the Number of Seamen, and of stout Ships belonging to this Kingdom: but after King James's Accession, and the taking Place of that Peace, which they had so long and earnestly expected, Things took a new and strange Turn. Our Traders saw the manifest Advantage of using large and stout Ships; but instead of building them, were content to freight those of their Neighbours, because a little Money was to be saved by this Method. Consequence of this Notion, our Shipping decayed in Proportion as our Trade encreased; 'till in the Year 1615, Things were come to such a strange Pass, that there were not ten Ships of 200 Tons belonging to the Port of London. Upon this, the Trinity-House petitioned the King, setting forth the Matter of Fact, and the dreadful Consequences it would have B 4

n Wilson's History of the Reign of King James I. Stowe's Chronicle continued by Howes, Baker's Chronicle, Echard, Rapin.

with respect to our Naval Power, through the Decay of Seamen, and praying that the King would put in Execution some good old Laws, which were calculated for the Redress of this Evil; suggesting also the Example of the State of Venice, who on a like Occasion had prohibited their Subjects, to transport any Goods in foreign Bottoms. The Merchants unanimously opposed the Mariners in this Dispute, and having better Interest at Court prevailed. Yet, in a Year's Time, the Tables were turned, and the Merchants convinced of their own Mistake, joined with the Mariners in a like Application. An Accident produced this happy Effect. Two Ships, each of the Burden of about three hundred Tons, came into the River of Thames, laden with Currants and Cotton, the Property of some Dutch Merchants refiding here. This immediately opened the Eyes of all our Traders: they faw now, that, through their own Error, they were come back to the very Point from which they fet out, and that, if some Remedy was not immediately applied, our Commerce would be driven again by Foreigners on foreign Bottoms. They instantly drew up a Representation of this, and laid it before the King and his Council; upon which, a Proclamation was iffued, forbidding any English Subject to export or import Goods on any but English Bottoms.

WHEN once People have entered into a Course of Industry, the Benefits accruing from it, will generally keep them in that Road, and even the Difficulties they meet with, turn to their Advantage. Thus after the English Merchants had built a few large Ships in their own Ports, and furnished them with Artillery, and other Necessaries, they found themselves in a Condition to launch into many Trades, that were unthought of before, and though for fometime they suffered not a little by the Algerines, and other Pyrates of Barbary, yet in the End, they got more than they loft by these Accidents, for it put them upon building still larger Ships, as well as taking more Care in providing, and manning small Ones: which had such an Effect in the space of seven Years, that whereas, Ships of a hundred Tons, had been before effeemed very large Vessels, and were generally built and brought beyond the Seas; now there were many Merchant-men of 3, 4, and 500 Tons belonging to feveral Ports, and upwards of a hundred Veffels, each of above 200 Tons Burthen, belonging to Newcastle alone, all built at home, and better built than elsewhere; and before the Death of King James, our Trade was fo far increased, that,

an the Opinion of Sir William Monfon, we were little, if at all,

inferior in Maritime Force to the Dutch?

In respect to the Encouragements given by the Crown for promoting Commerce and Plantations in the East-Indies, and America, they were as great under this Reign, as under any preceding one. Several Voyages were made on account of the East-India Company, and the King did not spare sending an Ambassador into those Parts for their Service. Virginia and New-England were in a great Measure planted, Barbadoes posfeffed and fettled, and Bermudas discovered in his Time 9. I do not know whether the Attempts made for fixing Colonies in Newfoundland and Accadia, or New-Scotland, deserve any Commendation, because as they were managed at that Time, they could turn to little Account; yet it must be allowed, that the Government meant well by the Encouragement given to these Undertakings, which went so far as directing Proposals for fettling Newfoundland, to be read in Churches, that all who had a Mind to be concerned in such Attempts might have due Notice . Some Benefits certainly accrued even from these abortive Projects, they occasioned the building a great many good Ships, increased the Newfoundland Fishery, added to the Number of our Sailors, and kept alive that Spirit of Difcovering, which is effential to a beneficial Commerce, fince, whenever a Nation comes to think it has Trade enough, that Trade will quickly decline. Besides, it engaged abundance of knowing and experienced Persons to write upon all Branches of Traffick; and their Books which yet remain, sufficiently prove. that there were Numbers in those Days, who throughly understood all the Arts necessary to promote Manufactures, Navigation, and useful Commerce .

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P Sir William Monfon's Naval Tracts. p. 329, 350. Stowe's Annals, p. 994. and the same Facts are also to be met with in several of the Treatifes on Commerce hereafter-mentioned. 1 See 4 Declaration of the State of the Colony in Virginia, by his Majesty's Council for Virginia. London, 1620, 4to. Captain Smith's General History of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer-Islands, London, 1627. fol. Purchas's Pilgrims and Pilgrimage. of the King in Council at Theobald's, April 12th, 1622, printed with other Things, and directed to be read in Churches, London. Such as, An Effay of the Means useful to make 1622, 4to. Travel profitable and honourable, by Thomas Palmer, London, 1606, Virginia richly valued, by Richard Hakluyt, London, 1600. The Planter's Plea, or the Grounds of Plantations examined, and Objections answered, London, 1620, 4to. A Discourse on the

As to the Navy, which was more particularly the Care of the Crown, we find that it frequently engaged the Attention of the King himself, as well as of his Ministers. In most of our Naval Histories, we have a List of nine Ships, added to the Royal Navy of England by this Prince, which List is taken from Sir William Monson, and stands thus t.

SHIPS.	Men in Harbour	. Men at Sea.
Reformation.	9	250
Happy Entrance	. 7	160
Garland.	7	160
St. George.		250
Mary Rose.	8	120
Triumph.	12	300
Swiftfure.	9	250
Bonaventure.	7	160
St. Andrew.	ģ	250

But that this List is very defective, we may conclude from hence, that there is no mention therein of the greatest Ship built in this King's Reign, and built too by his express Direction; of which we have so exact, and at the same time so authentic an Account, that it may not be amiss to transcribe it.

Gribe it.

"This Year 1610, the King built a most goodly Ship for War, the Keel whereof was 114 Feet long, and the cross Beam was 44 Feet in length: she will carry 64 Pieces of great Ordnance, and is of the Burden of 1400 Tons. This Royal Ship is double-built, and is most sumptuously adorned, within and without, with all Manner of curious Carving, within and without, with all Manner of curious Carving, Painting, and rich Gilding, being in all respects the greatest and goodliest Ship that ever was built in England; and this glorious Ship the King gave unto his Son Henry Prince of Wales. The 24th of September, the King, the Queen, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and the Lady Elizabeth, with many great Lords, went unto Woolwich, to see it launched; but because of the Narrowness of the Dock, it could not then be launched: Whereupon the Prince came the next Morning

Trade to the East-Indies, by Thomas Mun. The Maintainance of free Trade, by George Malynes, Merchant, London, 1622, 8vo. The Centre of the Circle of Commerce, by the same Hand, London, 1623, 4to.

'Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 277. Lediard's Naval History, p. 475.

Morning by Three o'Clock, and then, at the Launching thereof, the Prince named it after his own Dignity, and called it, The Prince. The great Workmaster in building this Ship, was Master Phineas Pet, Gentleman, sometime

S Mafter of Arts of Emanuel College in Cambridge "."

In the same Author, we have an Account of the King's going on board the great East-India Ship of 1200 Tons, which was built here, and feems to have been the first of that Size launched in this Kingdom. The King called it, The Trade's Increase, and a Pinnace of 250 Tons, which was built at the Same Time, he called, The Pepper-Corn . This shews that he was a Favourer of Navigation; and though I cannot pretend to fay exactly, what Additions he made to the English Fleet, yet, from some authentic Calculations I have seen, I think I may venture to affirm, that Queen Elizabeth's Ships of War at the Time of her Death, might contain somewhat more than 16,000 Tons, and that in the Days of King James, they amounted to upwards of 20,000 Tons *. The King also granted a Commission of Enquiry, for reforming the Abuses in the Navy, the Proceedings upon which, are still preserved in the Cotton-Library 7. He was also fiberal to Seamen, and naturally inclined to do them Honour; but as in other Things, so in this, he was too much governed by his Favourites 2. Buckingham managed the Admiralty very indifferently, and before his Time, Gondemare had perfuaded King James against Reason, Law, the Inclinations of his People, nay, against his own Sense of Things, to take off the Head of the greatest Man who flourished in his Reign, and of whom I am now particularly to speak.

MEMOIRS of Sir WALTER RALE IGH, Knight.

As the Glory of this Gentleman's Actions were fufficient to have established and given Lustre to a Family, so his Descent was honourable enough to exempt him from Envy in the Posts he by his Merit obtained. There were several Families of the Name of Raleigh in the West, and three particularly which were seated in several parts of the Country, and bore different Arms. That from which this Gentleman sprung, may be, and indeed is, traced to the Reign of King John, as the Raleighs

Stowe's Annals, continued by Howes, p. 996. Wibid. p. 994. From some Notes on Hakluyt, M.S. Vitellius, E. 8, Wilson, Baker, Kennet, Echard, and Rapin.

Raleighs in general are beyond the Conquest. His Father was Walter Raleigh, Esq. of Fardel in the County of Devon. This Gentleman had three Wives, and Children by them all. The last was Catherine the Daughter of Sir Philip Champernon of Modbury, and Reliet of Othe Gilbert of Compton in Devon, Esquire. By this Lady Mr. Raleigh had two Sons; Carew, who was afterwards knighted, and Walter; of whom we are treating, as also a Daughter Margaret, who was twice married, Thus it appears, that this Gentleman was Brother by the Mother's side to those samous Knights, Sir John, Sir Humpbry, and Sir Adrian Gilbert.

He was born in the Year 1552, at a pleasant Farm called Hayes, seated in that part of Devonshire which borders on the Sea, and after laying the Foundations of Literature in his own Country, was fent to Oxford while a very young Man; fince according to the best Authority he was there in 1568, and soon distinguished himself by a Proficiency in Learning far beyond his Age . When he came to, and how long he staid in Oriel-College is not very clear; neither is it well made out, though often and very confidently afferted, that he was afterwards of the Middle-Temple. This we are fure of, that in 1569, he in Company with many young Gentlemen of good Families, and martial Dispositions, went over into France, as well to instruct themselves in the Art of War, as to affist the Protestants in that Kingdom, then grievously oppressed . He served there some considerable Time, and attained both Skill and Reputation. The former is evident from many judicious Observations on those Wars, which we meet with scattered through his Works; and the latter is attefted by contemporary and credible Authors. It appears from a Comparison of Facts and Dates, that he was fomewhat more than five Years thus employed, and having still an earnest Desire to improve his military Skill, and an eager Thirst for Glory, he passed next into the Netherlands, where he served likewise some Time against the Spaniards. In these Transactions he followed, as it was it was natural for a young Man to do, the Fashion of the Times. France and the Netberlands were in those Days the Schools

See these Points judiciously cleared by Mr. Oldys, in his Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 4, 5, 6. b Visitation of Devonshire, by William Hervy, Esq; Clarenceux, M S. in the Herald's Office. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 435. d Camden's Annals, A. D. 1569. Jac. August. Thuani historiarum sui temporis Tom. ii. fol. 1626. lib. 46. p. 601. Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 28.

Schools of Mars; to which all were obliged to go who addicted themselves to the Sword, and were willing to find a Way to Reputation, by exposing their Persons in the Service of their Country. But whereas Numbers were ruined by this Course, suffering their Minds to be corrupted by the Licence of Camps, and their Behaviour to be insected with that shere and Boisterous Humour, which some take for a Soldier-like Freedom; Raleigh on the contrary made the true use of his Service in a sorreign Country, increased his Stock of Knowledge in all kinds, improved his Skill as a Soldier by Experience, and so compleatly polished his manner of Address, that at his Return he was considered as one of the best bred and most accomplished Gentlemen

in England.

On Mr. Raleigh's Return to his Native Soil in 1578, he found his Brother Sir Humphry Gilbert engaged in a Design of making Discoveries in North-America, for which he had obtained a Patent; and in the furtherance of which he had procured the Affistance of many Friends. Raleigh was much taken with the Defign, and embarked in it cordially. When it came to be executed, many who had been concerned drew back; but Mr. Raleigh not only continued firm to his Engagements, but refolved to accompany his Brother in Person! This was but an unfortunate Undertaking, and would have frightned a Man of less Resolution than Raleigh, from venturing to Sea again; for they not only missed the great Discoveries they thought to have made, but were attacked by the Spaniards in their Return; and though they made a very gallant Defence had no Reason. to boast of Success, losing one of the best Ships in their small Fleet, and in it a very gallant young Gentleman, whose Name was Miles Morgan z. From this unlucky Adventure, Mr. Raleigh arrived fafe in England, in the Spring of the Year 1579, and had soon after Thoughts of serving his Queen and Country in Ireland, where his Holiness and the Spaniards had fent Men, Money, and Bleffings, to comfort and affift such as in Breach of their Oaths would take Arms against their Sovereign, and cut the Throats of the English .

It is not very clear at what Time our Hero crossed the Seas; but it appears from indubitable Authority, that in 1580, he had a Captain's Commission under the President of Munster, which was then a more honourable Commission than now, because there

were

f Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 173. Hooker's Dedication of his Translation and Continuation of the Irish Chronicles. See Captain Haies's Relation in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 164. Hooker's Supplement to the Irish Chronicles, p. 154.

were fewer Soldiers, and confequently more Care was taken in distributing Commissions i. The next Year Captain Raleigh served under the Noble Earl of Ormond, then Governor of Ulster, a Man illustrious by his noble Birth, and near Relation to Queen Elizabeth; but still more so by his Virtues and steady Adherence to his Duty, in Spight of greater Temptations, than any other Man met with, and by whose Directions Raleigh performed many fignal Services. The Spanish Succours, under the Command of an Officer of their own, and affifted by a choice Body of their Irish Confederates, had raised and fortified a Castle, which they called del Ore, and which they intended should serve them for a Place of Retreat, whenever they found themselves diffressed, and should also prove a Key to admit fresh Succours from abroad, which they daily expected; and for which it was mighty well fituate, as standing upon the Bay of Smerwick in the County of Kerry. The then Deputy of Ireland, Lord Grey, was a Person of great Courage, and indefatigable Industry, but withall of a very severe Temper, and particularly prejudiced against the Irish, and who resolved at all Hazards to disposses them of this Fort; which he accordingly besieged with his small Army for some Time. In this dangerous Enterprize Captain Raleigh had his Share, commanding often in the Trenches, and contributing greatly to the Reduction of the Place, which was at last forced to furrender at Discretion, and the Lord-Deputy directed the greatest Part of the Garrison to be put to the Sword. This was accordingly executed, though with great Regret, by the Captains Raleigh and Mackworth k. Many other Services he performed in Ireland, of a Nature not necessary for me to relate, and these very justly recommended him to the Notice of the Government, who in 1581, honoured him with a joint Commission to be Governor of Munster. In this Character he continued to do the State good Services, which were amply rewarded by the Grant of a large Estate in the Country he had fubdued 1.

YET all his Care, and all his Services, did not hinder his having many Enemies, and amongst them the Lord-Deputy Grey; so that he seems to have been recalled in the latter End of the same Year to England, where he was quickly introduced to the Queen's Notice, and by his own Merits at-

tained

Cox's History of Ireland, p 366.

k See Mr. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, vol. i. in the Introduction, Cox's History of Ireland, Spenfer's State of Ireland, in the 6th Volume of his Works.

Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 28, 29.

tained a large share in her Favour m; and as he was forward to diffinguish himself in all public Services of Reputation, so on the Return of the Duke of Anjou into the Netherlands, he was one of those who accompanied him out of England, by the express Command of Queen Elizabeth; and on his coming back into England in 1582, he brought over the Prince of Orange's Letters to the Queen n. Some Months after this he refided at Court, and was honoured with the Favour and Protection even of contending Statesmen, who were proud of shewing the true Judgment they made of Merit, by becoming Patrons to Raleigh. In 1583, he was concerned in his Brother Gilbert's fecond Attempt, and though he went not in Person, yet he built a new Ship called The Bark Raleigh, and furnished it compleatly for the Voyage; the unsuccessful End of which it seemed to predict, by its untimely Return in less than a Week to Plymouth, through a contagious Distemper which seized on the Ships Crew P. Yet neither this Accident, nor the unfortunate Loss of his Brother Sir Humphry, which has been heretofore related, could drive from Raleigh's Thoughts a Scheme so beneficial to his Country, as these Northern Discoveries seemed to be. He therefore, digested into Writing an Account of the Advantages which he supposed might attend the Prosecution of such a Design; and having laid his Paper before the Council, obtained her Majesty's Letters Patent in favour of his Project, dated the twenty-fifth of March 1584 4. By this seasonable Interposition, he kept alive that generous Spirit of fearthing and planting distant Countries, which has been ever fince of fuch infinite Service to the Trade and Navigation of England.

It was not long before Mr. Raleigh carried his Patent into Execution; for having made Choice of two worthy Commanders, Captain Philip Amadas, and Captain Arthur Barlow, he fitted out their Vessels with such Expedition, though entirely at his own Expence, that on the twenty-seventh of April sollowing, they set sail from the West of England for the Coast of North-America, where they safely arrived in the beginning of the Month of July, and took Possession of that sine Country, which has been since so samous by the Name bestowed on it by Queen Elizabeth, and not given (as is generally surmised) by Sir Walter

Raleigh of VIRGINIA

ABOUT

M Leicester's Common wealth, p. 37. Aulic, Coquin. p. 90.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Invention of Shipping in his Select Essays, p. 36.

Shirley's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 19. Lloyd's State-Worthies. p. 487.

Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 149.

Historical Account of the Voyages of Sir Walter Raleigh, London 1719, 8vo. p. 8. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 243.

Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mr. Oldys, p. 25.

ABOUT this Time he was chosen Knight of the Shire for the County of Devon , and making a confiderable Figure in Parliament, he upon some Occasion entering the Royal Presence in his Capacity as a Member, received the Honour of Knighthood; but at what Time is not exactly known. In 1585, Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out a second Fleet for Virginia, in which he had very good Success, his Ships in their Return taking a Spanish Prize worth fifty thousand Pounds t. He was likewise concerned in Captain Davis's Undertaking, for the Discovery of the North-West Passage; for which Reason a Promontory in Davis's Streights, was called Mount-Raleigh". In respect to these Public-spirited, and very expensive Projects, the Queen was pleased to make him some very lucrative Grants; particularly two, the first of Wine Licences, and the other of a Signiory in Ireland, confisting of 12,000 Acres, which he planted at his own Expence, and many Years after fold to Richard Boyle, the first Earl of Cork 2. Encouraged by these Favours he fitted out a third Fleet for Virginia, and two Barks, to cruize on the Spaniards near the Azores, which had such Success, that they were obliged to leave many of their Prizes behind them?. This good Fortune of his abroad was so improved by his 'own prudent Behaviour at Home, that the Queen in the latter Part of the Year 1586, made him Seneschal of the Dutchies of Connwall and Exeter, and Lord-Warden of the Stannaries in Devensbire and Cornwall, which Preferments, though no more than his Merit deserved, yet exposed him to the Envy of such as, having no Deserts of their own, despaired of attaining the like Advantages 2.

In the Year 1587, Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out a fourth Fleet for Virginia at his own Expence; and in 1588 a fifth; but neither had any great Success, notwithstanding all imaginable Care was taken to provide them thoroughly in all respects, and to employ none in this Service but Men of Resolution and Reputation a. These Disappointments, however, only served to shew the Constancy of our Hero's Temper, and the Firmness with which he pursued whatever appeared to him conducive to the public Good, how little soever it turned to his private Advan-

tage.

Notitia Parliamentaria, by Browne Willis, Esq; vol. ii. p. 254.

Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 251.

Ibid. p. 101.

Mr. Oldys's
Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 26.

Cox's History of Ireland,
p. 389—391.

Hakluyt, vol. ii. part 2. p. 120.

See
Hooker's Dedication of his Supplement to the Irish Chronicles to Sig
Walter Raleigh,

Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 208.

tage. With Justice, therefore was the wise Queen Elizabeth liberal to such a Man, who whatever he received from her Bounty with one Hand, bestowed it immediately in Acts glorious to the Nation with the other.

WHEN the Nation was alarmed with the News of the King of Spain's famous Armada, Sir Walter Raleigh was one of the Council appointed to confider of Ways and Means for repulfing those Invaders; and his Application of his Thoughts to this important Question, at that Time, produced such a Scheme, for Defence, as may be of the greatest Use to this Island, while it remains such b. He did not, however, confine himself to this Province of giving Advice; but as he had often fitted out Ships for his Country's Honour, and his own, so he now did the like for its Defence; and not fatisfied even with that, he exposed also his Person, among the many Noble Voluntiers, who went to Sea on that Occasion, and performed such signal Services in the Attack and Destruction of that formidable Fleet, as recommended him further to the Queen's Favour, who granted him some additional Advantages in his Wine-Office, which he enjoyed throughout her whole Reign, and was the principal Source of that Wealth which he employed fo much to his Honour in all public Services c.

ABOUT this Time, he made an Affignment of all his Right. Title, and Interest in the Colony of Virginia, to certain Gentlemen and Merchants of London, in hopes they might be able to carry on a Settlement there, more fuccessfully than he had done. He had already spent upwards of forty thousand Pounds, in his feveral Attempts for that Purpose; and yet it does not appear that he parted with his Property, either out of a Prospect of Gain, or through an Unwillingness to run any further Hazard; for instead of taking a Consideration, he gave them at the Time of making the Affignment, an hundred Pounds towards their first Expences; neither did he make any Referve except the Fifths of all Gold and Silver Mines. All his View was to engage such a Number of joint-Adventurers, as by their concurring Interests, and Industry, might strengthen his Infant Colony, and enable it, to reach the End which he had defigned. With the same View, he continued to assist the Company with his Advice and Protection, whenever they defired it; and the Difficulties

b See an Extract of this Piece in Mr. Oldys's Life of Sir W. Raleigh, p. 39. 'Townshend's Historical Collections, p. 244. Difficulties they struggled with for twenty Years after, sufficiently shewed, that it was not through any Fault of the Original Proprietor, Virginia did not sooner sourish, and that his Wisdom and Prudence were no less to be admired in this Disposal of his Concern therein, than his Courage and Conduct deserved Applause, in first fixing upon so advantageous a Spot, which since has proved itself worthy of all the Care and Ex-

pence employed in the Support of it 4.

WHEN a Proposition was made by Don Antonio King of Portugal, to Queen Elizabeth, to affift him in the Recovery of his Dominions, the Terms he offered, appeared so reasonable, that her Majesty was content to bear a Share in that Undertaking, and to encourage her Public-spirited Subjects to do the rest. Her Majesty's Quota consisted of six Men of War, and threescorce thousand Pounds; to which, the Adventurers added a hundred and twenty Sail of Ships, and between fourteen and fifteen thousand Men, Soldiers and Sailors. In the fitting out this Fleet, Sir Walter Raleigh was deeply concerned, and took a Share himself in the Expedition, of which a large Account has been given in the former Volume, and therefore there is no need of repeating it here; especially since we met with no Particulars, which personally respect Sir Walter, worth mentioning, except it be his taking fome Hulks belonging to the Hanse-Towns, for which, he, together with some other Commanders, received as a special Mark of the Queen's Favour, a Gold Chain s. The next Year he made a Voyage to Ireland, and towards the latter End of it, formed a grand Design of attacking the Spaniards in the West-Indies, taking the Plate-Fleet and facking Panama b.

This Enterprize, like that of Portugal, was partly at the Queen's Charge, and partly at that of private Persons, among whom the Principal were Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir John Hawkins; the former intending to go in Person as Commander in Chief of the Fleet, which consisted of two of the Queen's Ships, and thirteen Sail besides i. Many Accidents happened which detained these Ships on the English Coast, for twelve Weeks; but at last Sir Walter Raleigh sailed on the 6th of May, 1592. The very next Day Sir Martin Frobisher sollowed and overtook him with the Queen's Letter, to recall him; but

Hakluyt's Voyages, first Edition, p. 815.

See Don Antonio's Letter to the Treasurer, in Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 536.

See the Naval History of Queen Elizabeth, p. 407.

Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mr. Oldys, p. 50.

Hakluyt, vol ii. pt. 2. p. 194.

Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 180.

he, thinking his Honour too deeply engaged, continued at Sea, till all hopes of Success, according to their intended Scheme, was lost; and then returned, leaving the Command of the Fleet to Sir Martin Frobisher, and Sir John Burgh, (or Burrough) with Orders to cruize on the Coast of Spain and the Islands. In Pursuance of these Orders, Sir John Burgh happily made himself Master of the Madre de Dios, or Mother of God, one of the greatest Ships belonging to the Crown of Portugal, which he brought safely into Dartmouth, on the 7th of September, in the same Year. This is said to have been the most considerable Prize, till then, taken in the War, and therefore it may not be amis to give a particular Account of it.

THIS Carrack was in Burden, no less than 1600 Tons, whereof goo were Merchandize; the carried thirty-two Pieces of Brass Ordnance, and between fix and seven hundred Pasfengers; was built with Decks, seven Story, one Main Orlope, three close Decks, one Fore-castle, and a spare Deck of two Floors a-piece. According to the Observations of Mr. Robert Adams, an excellent Geometrician, the was in Length, from the Beak-Head to the Stern, 165 Foot; in Breadth, near 47 Foot; the Length of her Keel, 100 Foot; of the Main-maft, 121 Foot; its Circuit, at the Partners, near 11 Foot; and her Main-yard 106 Foot 1. As to her Lading according to the Catalogue taken at Leadenhall, the 15th of September this Year, the principal Wares confifted of Spices, Drugs, Silks, Callicoes, Carpets, Quilts, Cloth of the Rind of Trees, Ivory, Porcelane, or China-ware, Ebony; besides Pearl, Musk, Civet, and Ambergrease, with many other Commodities of inferior Value. The Cargaison freighted ten of our Ships for London, and was by moderate Computation, valued at a hundred and fifty thoufand Pounds Sterling . When this Vessel was first taken, both Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir John Hawkins judged it to be worth four Times that Sum "; and fo in all Probability the really was : but in spight of all the Care Sir John Burgh could take, the Seamen embezzled a vast Quantity of valuable Effects; neither were the Proprietors in a much better Situation when the was brought Home. Sir William Monfon tells us the Reason, and I chuse to give it in his own Words. "The Queen's Adventure, says he in this Voyage, was only two Ships, one of ec which,

L. General of the Fleet, prepared by Sir W. Raleigh, in Hakluyt, as before cit ed.

1 Ibid.

m Affirmed in the Close of the faidAccount.

n This Original is still preserved in the Harleyan Collect on, Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 65.

which, and the least of them too, was at the taking the Carrack; which Title, joined to her Royal Authority, she made such use of, that the rest of the Adventurers were forced to submit themselves to her Pleasure, with whom she dealt but indifferently "." Thus it appears from unexceptionable Authority, that the Queen, and not Sir Walter was most benefited by this Capture; and there is Reason to believe the like happened upon other Occasions, though Sir Walter was

generally left to bear the Blame.

WHILE Sir Walter remained at Home, his great Genius difplayed itself in all the Employments worthy of a Citizen, in a free State. He shone in the Senate as a Patriot, and the Remains we have of his Speeches, leave us in doubt which we ought most to admire, the Beauty of his Eloquence, or the Strength of his Understanding P. He was, besides, the Patron and Protector of learned Men; the great Encourager of all public Undertakings, and one of the Queen's declared Favourites at Court 9. It was here, that Sir Walter Raleigh found himself at a Lois. In spight of all his Wisdom and Prudence, he became enamoured of Mrs. Throckmorton, one of the Queen's Ladies of Honour, and the Consequences of this Amour proved such as could not be concealed. The Queen, though the had passed by Errors of a like Nature in Leicester and Effex, yet the punished this Mistake of Raleigh's very severely: but whether led thereto by the Infinuations of his Enemies, or from a Notion, that the greater a Man's Abilities, the less his Offences deserved Pardon, I pretend not to determine . However, the Queen's Frowns wrought in this Respect, a proper Reformation. Sir Walter meditated in his Retirement, a greater Design s than hitherto he had undertaken, while in the Queen's Favour; and that was, the Discovery of the rich and spacious Empire of Guiana, a noble Country in the South of America, which the Spaniards had then only visited, and to this Day have never conquered.

FROM the Time he first entertained this Notion, he made it his Business to collect whatever Informations might be had relating to this Place, and the Means of entering it. When he thought himself as much Master of the Subject as Books could

Naval Tracts, p. 181.

P Sir Simonds D'ewes's Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, p. 478, 484, 488, 490, &c. Haywood, Townshend's Historical Collections, fol. 65.

P Sir Simonds D'ewes's Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, p. 478, 484, 488, 490, &c. Haywood, Townshend's Historical Collections, fol. 65.

P Sir Simonds D'ewes's Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, p. 478, 484, 488, 490, &c. Haywood, Townshend's State-Worthies.

P Sir Simonds D'ewes's Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, p. 478, 484, 488, 490, &c. Haywood, Townshend's Historical Collections, fol. 65.

P Sir Simonds D'ewes's Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, p. 478, 484, 488, 490, &c. Haywood, Townshend's Historical Collections, fol. 65.

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P Sir Simonds D'ewes's Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, p. 478, 484, 488, 490, &c. Haywood, Townshend's Historical Collections, fol. 65.

P Sir Simonds D'ewes's Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, p. 478, 484, 488, 490, &c. Parliaments, p. 697.

P Sir Simonds D'ewes's Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, p. 478, 484, 488, 490, &c. Parliaments, p. 697.

P Sir Simonds D'ewes's Journal of Parliaments, p. 478, 484, 488, 490, &c. Parliaments, p. 697.

P Sir Simonds D'ewes's Journal of Parliaments, p. 478, 484, 488, 490, &c. Parliaments, p. 697.

P Sir Simonds D'ewes's Journal of Parliaments, p. 478, 484, 488, 490, &c. Parliaments, p. 697.

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P Sir Simonds D'ewes's Journal of Parliaments, p. 697.

P Sir Simonds D'ewes's Journal of Parliaments, p. 478, 484, 488, 490, &c. Parliaments, p. 697.

P Sir Simonds D'ewes's Journal of Parliaments, p. 697.

P Sir Simonds D'ewes's Journal of Parliaments, p. 697.

P Sir Simonds D'ewes's Journal of Parli

make him, he drew up Instructions for Captain Whiddon, an old experienced Officer, whom he sent to take a View of the Coast, and who returned with a fair Report, of the Riches of the Country, the Possibility of discovering and subduing it, and the Treachery and Cruelty of the Spaniards settled in its Neighbourhood. This fixed Sir Walter in his Resolution; and therefore, having provided a Squadron of Ships at his own Expence, and those of his noble Friends, the Lord High-Admiral Howard and Sir Robert Cecil, he prepared for this Adventure,

which he also accomplished.

On the 6th of February, 1595, he fet fail from Phymouth, and arrived at the Isle of Trinidade, on the 22d of March. He there easily made himself Master of St. Joseph's, a small City, and took the Spanish Governor, Antonio Borco, Prisoner, who gave him a large Description of the neighbouring Continent, and the Trade of those Parts, unknown before to the English. On this Information, he left his Ship at Trinidado, and with a hundred Men, in several little Barks, made up the River Oronoque, 400 Miles high, in Search of Guiana. Carrapana, one of the petty Kings of the Country, and several others of them, refigned their Sovereignties into his Hand, for the Queen's Use. But the Weather was so hot, and the Rains so violent, that he was forced to retire in as much Danger of being borne down by the rapid Torrents of Water, as of his Enemies. The Inhabitants of Cumana, refuling to bring in the Contribution he affigned them to pay, to fave the Town, he fired it, as also Part of St. Mary's, and Rio de la Hacha; which done, he returned Home, with Glory and Riches. Of the whole of his Proceedings, the Manner of his entering this hidden Country, and making a farther Progress therein in a Month, than the Spaniards had done in half a Century; of the Nature of the Soil, and the Certainty of finding many and rich Mines of Gold, Sir Walter has left us so fair, so copious, and so well written a Relation ", that if his Subsequent unfortunate Voyage had not thrown a Shade over so bright a Prospect, we could scarce render a Reason why Guiana should not at this Time have been as thoroughly known to, and as compleatly settled by, the English, as Virginia.

C 3 WHAT-

t Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mr. Oldys, p. 77. "Under the Title of The Discovery of the large, rich, and beautiful Empire of Guiana, with a Relation of the great and golden City Manao, called by the Spaniards EL Dorado, and performed in the Year 1595, by Sir Walter Raleigh, Imprinted at London, by Robert Robinson, 4to, 1596.

WHATEVER might be pretended by the deep and cunning Statesmen of that Age, as that many Things fabulous, and more uncertain, were related in Sir Walter's Account, and that it was hazarding too much, to fend a large Fleet, well mann'd, into so sickly a Climate; whatever, I say, of this Kind, was pretended (as wife Men will never want Pretences, even when their Passions incline them to do weak Things) yet Envy was certainly the true Cause why his Proposals were postponed at first, and afterwards, notwithstanding all his pressing Solicitations, rejected . Sir Walter, however, to show his own entire Confidence in this Scheme, and perhaps with a View to make Things to plain that even his Detractors should have nothing to object, fitted out two Ships at his own Expence, The Delight, and The Discoverer, and sent them under Captain Kemeys, who had served in the former Enterprize to Guiana, as well to make farther Inquiries, as in some Measure to keep his Word with the Indians, to whom he had promifed, in the Name of the Queen his Mistress, such Affistance as might enable them to drive away the Spaniards, who were continually attempting rather to extirpate than subdue them. This Voyage Kemeys successfully performed, and at his Return published such an Ancount of his Expedition as might have converted to Sir Walter Raleigh's Opinion of Guiana, all whom invincible Ignorance or over-weening Prejudice, had not deftined to remain Infidels.

THE next important Expedition in which we find Sir Walter engaged was, the famous one to Cadiz, wherein the Earl of Effex and the Lord High-Admiral Howard, were joint Commanders, and Sir Walter Raleigh, with many other Persons of great military Skill and Prudence, were appointed of their Council, In the former Volume we have given a general Account of the Nature and Delign of this Expedition, and here, therefore, we shall dwell only on such Particulars as more immediately relate to the Gentleman of whom we are speaking. The Fleet sailed in the Beginning of June 1596, and on the twentieth of the same Month, they arrived before Cadiz. The Lord Admiral's Opinion was to attack and take the Town first, that the English Fleet might not be exposed to the Fire of the Ships in the Port, and that of the City and Forts adjacent, at the fame Time. The Council of War which he called upon this Occafion,

^{*} See Captain Kemeys's Dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh. * A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana, performed and written in 1596, by Lawrence Kemeys, Gent. Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 683.

y Camden's Annals, p. 720.

fion, concurred with him in Opinion, and so a Resolution was

taken instantly to attack the Town z.

IT so happened that Sir Walter Raleigh was not at this Council, and the Earl of Effex was actually putting his Men into Boats before Raleigh was acquainted with the Defign. As foon as he knew it, he went to the Earl and protested against it, offering such weighty Reasons for their falling first on the Galleons, and the Ships in the Harbour, that the Earl was convinced of the Necessity of doing it, and defired Sir Walter to diffuade the Lord-Admiral from landing. Sir Walter undertook it, and prevailed with him to confent that the Fleet should first enter the Port and fall on the Spanish Galleons and Gallies. When he returned to the Earl of Effex with the News, crying out aloud in his long Boat, entramos, the Earl flung his Hat into the Sea for Joy, and prepared to weigh Anchor, Sir Walter gave the Lord-Admiral a Draught of the manner in which he thought best to begin the Fight. Two great Fly-Boats were to board a Galleon, after they had been sufficiently battered by the Queen's Ships of War; which being agreed on, and both the Generals persuaded to lead the main Body of the Fleet, Raleigh in The Warspight, had the Command of the Van, which was to enter the Harbour, and confifted of The Mary Rose, commanded by Sir George Carew, The Lyon by Sir Robert Southwell, The Rainbow by Sir Francis Vere, The Swiftsure by Captain Crofs, The Dreadnought by Sir Conyers Clifford, and The Nonpa eil by Mr. Dudley. These were followed by the Fly-boats and London hired Ships, Lord Thomas Howard leaving his own Ship The Mer Honeur, to go on Board the Non-pareil. Yet the Action did not commence that Evening, because being a Matter of great Importance, the Council had not Time to regulate the Manner of it exactly a.

On the twenty-second of June, Sir Walter weighed Anchor at break of Day, and bore in towards the Spanish Fleet, which had thus disposed itself to resist the Attack. Seventeen Gallies were ranged under the Walls of the City, that they might the better flank the English Ships as they entered, and hinder them from passing forward to the Galleons. The Artillery from Fort-Philip played on the Fleet, as did the Cannon from the Curtain

C 4 of

² Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 184. Triumphs of Nasfau, fol. 187. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. iv. p. 1929. a Sir Walter Raleigh's Relation of the Action at Cadiz, published by his Grandson Philip Raleigh, Esq; at the End of an Abridgment of Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World, 1700. 8vo. Triumphs of Nassau, and Purchas's Pilgrim before cited.

of the Town, and fome Culverines scoured the Channel. When the Spanish Admiral, The St. Philip, perceived the English approaching under Sail, the also set Sail, and with her The St. Matthew, The St. Thomas, The St. Andrew, the two great Galleaffes of Lifton, three Frigates, Convoy to their Plate-Fleet from the Havana, two Argofies, very ftrong in Artillery, the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral of Nueva Espanna, with forty other great Ships bound for Mexico, and other Places. Of these The St. Philip, The St. Matthew, The St. Andrew, and The St. Thomas, four capital Ships, came again to anchor under the Fort of Puntal, in a Streight of the Harbour which leads to Puerto-Real. On the Starboard-fide they placed the three Frigates, behind them the two Galleasses of Liston. The Argosies, and the seventeen Gallies, they posted to play on the English as they entered the Harbour; and behind these the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral of New-Spain, with the Body of the Fleet, hoping by this great Strength to defend the Entrance, their Line reaching like a Bridge over the Streight from Point to Point, and was guarded by the Fort of Puntal. Sir Walter in the Van of the English was faluted by Fort-Philip, by the Cannon on the Curtain, and by all the Gallies, in good Order. Raleigh scorned their Fire, and answered with a Fourish of Trumpets, without discharging a Gun. The Ships that followed him beat so thick on the Gallies, that they presently betook them to their Oars, and got up to join the Galleons in the Streight. Sir Walter gave them feveral Broadfides as they drove by him, and bore down on The St. Philip and St. Andrew, as more worthy his Fire. The Lord Thomas Howard came to an Anchor by him; Sir Robert Southwell in The Lyon did the same on the one Side, and The Dreadnought, and The Mary Rose on the other; The Rainbow lay on Puntal-Side: and thus they cannonaded each other for three Hours. About ten o'Clock the Earl of Effex, impatient to hear the Noise of the Guns and to be himself out of the Action, made through the Fleet, headed the Ships on the Larboad-Side of the Warspight, and anchored as near Sir Walter as possible. Raleigh kept always closest to the Enemy, and stood single in the Head of all. After they had played so long on the Capital Ships, Sir Walter went in his Skiff to the Admiral, defiring that the Fly-Boats which were promised him might come up, and then he would board the Enemy; if not he would board them with the Queen's Ship, it being the same to him, whether he funk or burnt, and one of them would certainly be his Fate.

The Earl of Effex, and the Lord Thomas Howard had affured

him they would fecond him b.

AFTER a long and desperate Fight, Sir Walter despairing of the Fly-boats, and depending on Lord Effex and Lord Thomas Howard's Promises to affist him, prepared to board the Spanish Admiral; which the latter no fooner perceived, than she, and the other Capital Ships following her Example, ran ashore. The Admiral and The St. Thomas they burnt, The St. Matthew. and The St. Andrew were faved by the English Boats before they took Fire. The English were merciful after their Victory; but the Dutch who did little or nothing in the Fight, put all to the Sword, till they were check'd by the Lord Admiral and Sir Walter Raleigh. The most remarkable Circumstance in this whole Affair, seems to be, the Disproportion between the English and Spanish Force, there being but seven Ships of the former against seventy-one of the latter. This great Blow rendered the taking, of the City, which followed it, the more easy, which, however, was performed rather by dint of Valour than Conduct, and with fuch an Impetuofity, as did less Honour to the Officers than to the Soldiers. Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom undoubtedly the chief Honour of the Naval Victory was due, went ashore, though he was wounded, in order to have some share of this, but when he saw that all Things were in Confusion, he wisely returned on Board the Fleet c.

THE next Morning Sir Walter fent to the Lord Admiral for Orders to follow the Spanilo West-India Fleet outward bound, lying then in Puerto-Real, where they could not escape him; but in the Hurry and Confusion every one was in on taking the Town, this Opportunity was flipt, and no Answer fent to his Defire. In the Afternoon the Merchants of Sevill and Cadiz offered two Millions to fave those Ships; and while the Bargain hung, the Duke of Medina Sidonia caused all that rich Fleet to be burnt; and thus were the Galleons, Gallies, Frigates, Argofies, and the Fleets of New-Spain, Royal and trading, confumed, except The St. Matthew, and The St. Andrew, in possession of the English. The Town was very rich in Merchandize and Plate. Many wealthy Prisoners were given to the Land-Commanders, who were enriched by their Ranfom; fome had 10, some 16, some 20,000 Ducats for their Prisoners; others had Houses and Goods given them, and fold

b See the foregoing Relations, and the Voyage to Cadiz, in Hakluyt's Collection. c Camden, Triumphs of Nassau, Hakluyt's Account of the Cadiz Voyage, Vere's Commentaries, p. 39, and Six Walter's own Account before-mentioned.

them to the Owners for vast Sums of Money. Sir Walter got, to use his own Words, a lame Leg and a deformed; for the rest, be either spoke too late, or "twas otherwise resolved; be wanted not good Words, yet had Possession of nought but Poverty and Pain".

In their Return home they took Faro, in the Kingdom of Algarve; and Effex proposed some other Enterprizes, in which he was opposed, and the Point carried against him by the concurring Opinions of the chief Land and Sea-Officers. Yet on his Return Effex published some Remarks, or, as he calls them, Objections in relation to this Voyage, wherein (as Mr. Oldys well observes, and therein justly censures Sir Henry Wotton) the Earl questions every Body's Conduct but his own. The Queen, however, taking Time to inform herself, made a right Judgment of the whole Affair; in Consequence of which she paid a due Respect to every Man's Merit, and to none greater

than to that of Sir Walter Raleigh .

IMMEDIATELY after his Return, our Hero bethought himfelf of his favourite Project, the fettling Guiana. In order to further Discoveries which might effectually lead thereto, he sent a stout Pinnace, well freighted with every Thing necessary, under the Command of Captain Leonard Berrie, which safely arrived there in the Month of March 1507; and having entered into a friendly Commerce with the Inhabitants of the Coast, and Jearned from them very particular Accounts of the present State and Riches of the higher Country, they returned again into England, arriving fafely at the Port of Plymouth the twenty-eighth of June following. This Expedition feems to be an indubitable Proof of two things: first, that Sir Walter himself was in earnest in this Discovery, otherwise there can be no Cause assigned, why, having fo many Matters of Importance upon his Hands, he should yet busy himself in an Undertaking of this kind. Secondly, it proves that Sir Walter's Hopes were as well founded as it was possible for a Man's to be, in a Thing of this Nature, fince the Account given us of this Voyage is fuch a one as is liable to no just Objections f.

THE next publick Service wherein we meet with Sir Walter Raleigh is, that called The Island-Voyage, of which we have also given a copious Account in our former Volume. In this Undertaking, of which we have as full and clear Memorials, as of any

Camden, Vere's Commentaries, p. 42, and Sir Walter's Relation. Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 106. See the Relation of this Voyage by Mr. Thomas Masham, in Hackluyt: vol. iii. p. 692.

in the glorious Reign of Queen Elizabeth, it very plainly appears that Effen had the Command, and Raleigh the Abilities; which was the true Reason why the former acquired so little Honour, and the latter fo much; though with a less jealous Commander, he had certainly attained more. Their Disputes began early. A Misfortune fell out in Raleigh's Ship in the Bay of Biscay, which obliged him to lie behind the Fleet; and afterwards, when this Accident was repaired, and he came to the Rock of Lifbon, he met with a large Number of Ships and Tenders, which were by him conducted to the Azores. This fignal Service, the Creatures of Effex, by a Sort of Logick in which they were well practifed, construed into a high Offence; for they pretended, that thefe Vessels had quitted the General, to wait on the Rear-Admiral; but Sir Walter having convinced the Earl, that thefe Ships came to the Rock of Liston, as the Rendezvous appointed by himself, and that he finding them there, had brought them, as became him, to attend upon his Lordship, Estex had Sense enough to be pacified for that Time : but foon after, Things went wrong again. It was agreed in a Council of War, that the General, and Sir Walter Raleigh, should land jointly on the Island of Fayall, where Raleigh waited four Days for his Lordthip, and hearing nothing of him, held a Council of War, wherein it was refolved, by fuch as were less concerned for Effex's Honour than the Nation's Glory, that Sir Walter should attempt by himself, what they should jointly have performed. This Resolution he executed, and shewed therein as much personal Courage as any private Soldier, and all the Conduct that could be expected from a very wife and experienced Commander; fo that we need not wonder he met with Success, and did all that he defigned. Effex, on his Arrival, forgot the public Service, and thought of nothing but his own private Difgrace, which vexed him so much, that he broke some of the Officers who had behaved gallantly under Raleigh; and some Talk there was, of trying him, and taking off his Head; but at last, by the Mediation of Lord Thomas Howard, who was Vice-Admiral, and Sir Walter's condescending to excuse his having done to much, before his Lordship did any Thing, Matters were made up once again. The casheered Officers were restored, Raleigh returned to his Care of the public Service, and Effex proceeded in his Mistakes . In confequence

See the accurate Relation of all that passed in this Voyage, by Sir Arthur Gorges. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. iv. p. 1938.

A See an excellent Account of this Affair by Sir Walter himself, in his History of the World, Book V. Cap. i. Sect. ix. and in the beforementioned Relation,

nuence of these, they missed the West-India Fleet, though Raleigh had the good Luck to take some Prizes, the Produce of which paid his Men, so that he lost neither Credit nor Money by the Voyage. On his Return, though Essex sound Means to throw the Miscarriage of all his pompous Promises on Sir Walter, with the Mob, yet his Accusations would not pass with the Queen, who shewed Raleigh more Favour than ever; even though he took less Pains to vindicate himself, than perhaps any other Man

would have done 1.

THE next Year we find him again in Parliament, where he distinguished himself by uniting what of late have been thought opposite Characters; the Patriot, and the Servant of the Crown, but which he shewed to be very consistent. By his Interest with the Queen, he procured some griping Projects to be discountenanced; by his Weight in the House, he promoted Supplies; he also obtained some Indulgencies for the Tinners in Cornwall, and shewed himself, upon all Occasions, a ready Advocate for the Poor. In 1599, when the Queen was pleased to fit out, in the Space of a Fortnight, so great a Navy as struck her Neighbours with Awe, Sir Walter was appointed Vice-Admiral; which Honour, though he enjoyed it but a Month, yet was a high Mark of the Queen's Confidence, fince at that Time, the was as apprehensive of Stirs at home, as of an Invasion from abroad. In 1600, the Queen was pleased to send Lord Cobbam, and Sir Walter Raleigh, to the Dutch, and after conferring with Prince Maurice of Nassau, Sir Walter returned again about the Middle of the Year, and a little after, he was by the Queen made Governor of the Mand of Jersey; but the referved 200 Pounds a Year out of that Government, to be disposed of as the thought fit k.

His next great Service was against Effex, in his Insurrection in the February following. It would be a great deal besides our Purpose, to enter into a long Detail of that perplexed Affair. Let it suffice then, that we observe after a due Comparison of what Contemporary Writers have lest us of this Matter, that Lord Esfex was his own Enemy, and that he brought Sir Walter's Name upon the Carpet, to skreen his own Designs. He gave out, that the Cause of his arming was to desend himself against his personal Enemies, pretending that Cobbam and Raleigh had contrived a Scheme to affassinate him: whereas Sir Christopher Blount had made a Proposal of this Sort to Esfex, with Respect

See Sir Arthur Gorge's Account, before referred to, Vere's Commentaries, p. 65, 66, 67. Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mr. Oldys, 126,—130.

to Raleigh; and when this was judged impracticable, advised the propagating the other Story to colour their Proceedings as himself confessed. When the Mischief broke out Sir Walter did his Duty, and no more than his Duty. Some, indeed, have reported, that, after the Earl of Effex was condemned, he preffed the Queen to fign a Warrant for his Execution; and that he shewed a particular Pleasure in beholding his Death: which, however is not firially true; for though he had placed himself near the Scaffold, before the Earl appeared, yet he removed from thence before his Death, because the People seemed to take his Appearance there in a wrong Light: but this he afterwards repented; because when the Earl came to die, he expreffed a great Defire to have feen and spoke to him, from a Forefight of which, Sir Walter Raleigh had taken that Post. When Sir Christopher Blount came to die, he actually begged Sir Walter's Pardon, and confessed the Wrong that had been done him, in the Reports spread to inflame the Populace. Yet it is certain, that even this Confession did not quash such Reports; but from this time forward, Raleigh had more Enemies than ever; and, which was worse, the Queen's Successor was prejudiced against him, by fuch Accounts as were transmitted to him in Scotland 1.

In the Summer of the Year 1601, he attended the Queen in her Progress, and on the Arrival of the Duke de Biron, as Ambaffador from Prance, he received him, by her Majesty's Appointment, and conferred with him on the Subject of his Embaffy. In the last Parliament of the Queen, Sir Walter was a very active Member, and diffinguished himself upon all Occafions, by opposing such Bills as, under Colour of deep Policy, were contrived for the Oppression of the meaner Sort of People; fuch as that for compelling every man to till a third Part of his Ground, and others of a like Nature. Nor was he less ready to countenance such Laws as bore hard upon the Rich, and even upon Traders; where it was evident, that private Interest clashed with public Benefit, and there was a Necessity of hurting some for the Sake of doing Good to all. This shews that he had a just Notion of Popularity, and knew how to diffinguish between discerning and desiring it. An Instance of this appeared in his promoting a Law for the restraining the Exportation of Ordnance, which at that Time was of mighty Advantage to such as were concerned in the Commerce, but of inexpressible Detriment to the Nation, because it was the Source of the Enemy's Power

¹ Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mr. Oldys, p. 133,-139.

Power at Sea, the spanish Navy making Use of none but Eng-

lifb Cannon.

In the Point of Monopolies, indeed he was not altogether fo clear; but he shewed that he made a moderate Use of the Grants he had obtained from the Crown, and offered, if others

were cancelled, to furrender his freely ".

Upon the Demise of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Walter was not without Hopes of coming into Favour with her Successor, whose Countenance he had fought by various Prefents, and other Testimonies of Respect, which he sent into Scotland, and from the reception they met with, had no Reason to suspect that he stood upon ill Terms with King James ". He was not ignorant, however, of the Pains taken by Effex, to infuse into the King's Mind, Prejudices against him, which, however, he thought to wear out by affiduous Service. On the King's coming into England, he had, notwithstanding common Reports, frequent Access to him, and thereby an Opportunity of discovering both his Defire and his Capacity of ferving his Majesty. But he quickly found himself coolly treated, nor was he long at a Loss for the Reason. Six Robert Cecil, who had been his Friend and Asfociate, so long as they were both in Danger from Effex, forefeeing that, if ever Raleigh came into King James's Confidence, his Administration would not last long, drew such a Character of him to that Prince, as he thought most likely to disgust him; and dwelt particularly upon this, that Raleigh was a Martial Man, and would be continually forming Projects to embarrase him with his Neighbours . Sir Walter, in return for this good Office, did him another; for he drew up a Memorial, wherein he shewed plainly, that the Affection of the Cecils for his Majesty, was not the Effect of Choice, but of Force; that in Reality, it was chiefly through the Intrigues of one of that Family, his Mother loft her Head, and that they never thought of promoting his Succession, till they saw it would take place in spight of them P. This Memorial was far from having the Effects he expected; nor indeed would he have expected them, if he had known King James thoroughly. That timorous Prince faw the Power of Cecil at that Time, and thought he had need of it, forgetting

Meywood, Townshend's Collections, and Sir Simonds D'ewes's Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments.

Dr. Peter Heylyn's Examen Historicum, p. 170. A brief Relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's Troubles, p. 1.

Baker's Chronicle. Ofborne's Memorials of the Reign of K. James, &c.

P See Dr. Welwood's Notes on Arthur Wilson's History of King James, as it is printed in Dr. Kennet's Compleat History of England, vol. ii, p. 663, 664.

getting that it was the Effects of his own Favour, and so became dependant upon him, as he afterwards was upon Buckingham, whom, for many Years before his Death, he trusted but did not love 4. This, with his Aversion to all martial Enterprizes, engaged him to turn a deaf Ear to Sir Walter's Proposals; and perhaps to do more than this, if we are so just to Cecil, as to suppose that he did not afterwards persecute Raleigh without a Cause, I mean without personal Offence given to him. However it was, Raleigh had the Mortification to see himself, notwithstanding the Pains he had taken, slighted and ill used at Court: and this might probably determine him to keep Company with some who were in the same Situation, and who were his intimate Acquaintance before; which, however, proved his Ruin.

Among these Companions of his was Lord Cobham, a Man of a weak Head, but a large Fortune, over whom Raleigh. had a great Ascendant, and with whom he lived in constant Correspondence. This Man, who was naturally vain, and now much discontented, had an Intercourse with various Sorts of People, and talked to each in fuch a Stile as he thought would be most agreeable to them. In the Reign of Queen Elizabeth he had conferred with the Duke of Aremberg, a Flemish Nobleman in the King of spain's Service, and who was now in England as Ambassador from the Arch-Duke; but in Truth, with a View to negotiate'a Peace with Spain. With him Cobbam renewed his Acquaintance, and in his Name proposed giving Sir Walter a Sum of Money, if, inflead of oppofing, as he had hitherto done, he would forward that Peace. In the mean time, fome Popish Priests, and other discontented Persons, had framed a Plot against the King, and Royal Family, which was to be executed by feizing, if not destroying the King and his Children, and with some of these People Cobham also had an Intercourse, by the Means of his Brother Mr. Brooke. This last Treason being discovered, and traced to the Person just now mentioned, there grew a Suspicion of Cobham, and in Consequence of his Intimacy with Raleigh, some Doubts also as to him. Upon this, they were all apprehended, and Cobbam, who was a timorous Man, was drawn in to charge Sir Walter with feveral Things in a Confession . The Enemies of Raleigh contrived to blend these Treasons

See the Earl of Bristol's Answer to the Articles of High-Treason exhibited against him in Parliament, printed in Frankland's Annals of King James, and King Charles, p. 127, 128, 129.

See Mr. Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 152, 153.

Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 97.

See the whole Proceedings in the State Trials, vol. i.

Treasons together, though they, or at least Cecil, knew them to be distinct Things; and so he states them in a Letter to Mr. Winwood, wherein he shews his Dislike to Sir Walter Raleigh, and his Sense at the same Time of the Want of any real Evidence which might affect him; however, what was deficient in Proof, was made up in Force and Fraud. The Priests, Watfon and Clerk, were first tried and convicted; so was Mr. George Brooke, who had been their Associate: and on the seventeenth of November, 1603, Sir Walter Raleigh was tried at Winchester, and convicted of High-Treason, by the Instuence of the Court, and the bawling Billingsgate Eloquence of the Attorney-General Coke, without any Colour of Evidence ". This is that Treason, which was so justly slighted in his Days, and which

has fo much perplexed ours.

THAT there was really no Truth in what was alledged against Sir Walter, may be proved to a Demonstration, if we confider, that all the Evidence that was ever pretended, in Relation to his Knowledge of the surprizing Treason, or Plot to seize the King and his Family, was the Hearsay Testimony of George Brooke, that his Brother Cobbam should say, That it would never be well until the Fox and Cubbs were taken off; and afterwards speaking to this Brooke, That he, Lord Grey, and others were only on the Bye, but Raleigh and himself were on the Main; intimating, that they were only trufted with leffer Matters, but that the Capital Scheme before-mentioned, was concerted between him and Sir Wolter ". Yet when Brooke came to die, as he did deservedly, upon his own Confession, he recalled and retracted this Circumstance, owning, that he never heard his Brother make Use of that Phrase about the Fox and Cubbs x, which takes away consequently the other Story grounded upon it: and this we have upon the best Authority that can be, that of Lord Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salifbury, himself, who commends Brooke for shewing this Remorse in his last Moments 7. Thus out of his Capital Enemy's Mouth I have proved the Innocence of Sir Walter Raleigh, who constantly and judiciously at his Tryal distinguished between the surprizing Treason, and the Conferences with Aremberg. The former he denied the least Knowledge of; but as to the latter, owned that Cobham had talked to him of a large Prefent, in case he would be for a Peace

Lord Cecil's Letter to Mr, Winwood, in Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii p. 8. Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mr. Oldys. p. 157.

See Sir Thomas Overbury's Copy of Sir Walter's Arraignment, p. 12.

Winwood's Memorials, vol ii, p. 8.

In the before cited Letter of Lord Cecil to Mr. Winwood.

Peace with Spain, and complained of the Hardship of dying for

baving once beard a vain Man fay a few idle Things 2.

THOUGH the Law made no Distinction between Sir Walter Raleigh and the rest who were involved in this Treason, yet the King made a great deal, for he never figned any Warrant for his Execution a; but on the contrary, projected that strange Tragi-Comedy of bringing the two Lords, Cobham and Grey, with Sir Griffin Markham, to the Block, and then granting them a Reprieve, purely to discover the Truth of what Cobham had alledged against Raleigh, and what might be drawn by the Fright of Death from the other two b. As all this brought forth nothing, the King laid aside all Thoughts of taking away his Life; and if Raleigh laboured some Time under an Uncertainty of this, it ought to be attributed rather to the Malice of his potent Adversaries, than to any evil Intention in the King, of which I discern no Signs, and of the contrary to which Sir Walter himself, in his Letters, seems to be positive . Neither do I fay this with any View of excusing King James, but purely out of Respect to Truth, and that it may appear how dangerous a thing it is to live under a Prince who fuffers himself to be abfolutely directed by his Ministry; fince not only the Vices of fuch a Monarch are destructive, but even his Virtues uselefs.

In the Month of December, Raleigh was remanded to the Tower, and upon the Petition of his Wife, was allowed the Consolation of her Company, and by Degrees obtained still greater Favours; for the King was pleased to great all the Goods and Chattels, forfeited to him by Sir Walter's Conviction, to Trustees of his appointing, for the Benefit of his Creditors, and of his Lady and Children d. In a reasonable Space, his Estate followed his Goods; and now he began to conceive himself in a fair Way of being restored to that State from which he had fallen. In this however, he was much miltaken, for a new Court-Favourite arising, who had a Mind to enrich himself by fuch kind of Grants, he discovered a Flaw in the Conveyance of Raleigh's Estate to his Son, which being prior to the Attainder, gave the Crown a Title Paramount to that which was underflood to be therein, when the Forfeiture was granted back to Raleigh. Upon an Information in the Court of Exchequer, Judgment was given for the Crown, and the Effect of that Judgment

Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 101, 106. a Stowe's Annals, p. 831. b Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 11. Raleigh's Remains, p. 192. d Rymer's Fædera, Tom. xvi, p. 569.

was turned to the Benefit of the Favourite, who in 1609 had a complete Grant of all that Sir Walter had forfeited. This Courtier was Sir Robert Carr, afterwards so well known to the World by the Title of Earl of Somerset, to whom Sir Walter wrote an excellent Letter, wherein he stated the Hardship of his own Case without Bitterness, expostulated freely, and yet inoffensively, about the wrong done him, and entreated the Favourite's Compassion, without any unbecoming Condescension. All this, however, signified nothing; Sir Walter lost his Estate,

but not his Hopes.

HE spent a great Part of his Confinement in writing that noble and immortal Monument of his Parts and Learning, The History of the World; wherein he has shewn that he confulted the wife Rule of Horace, and fixed upon such a Subiect as fuited with his Genius, and under which, if we may guess from former and subsequent Attempts, any Genius but his must have sunk. He likewise devoted a Part of his Time to Chymistry, to rational and useful Chymistry, wherein he was no less successful, discovering that noble Medicine in malignant Fevers, which bears the Name of his Cordial, though I think it is now doubtful, whether the true Receipt of it be still preserved or not . Besides these, he turned his Thoughts on various other Subjects, all beneficial to Mankind, and in that Light worthy of Sir Walter Raleigh. Of these Treatises many are printed; some are still preserved in MS. and not a few, I doubt, are loft. The Patron of his Studies was Prince Henry, the Glory of the House of Stuart, the Darling of the British Nation while he lived, and the Object of its fincere and universal Lamentation, by his untimely Death. After his Demise Sig Walter depended chiefly upon the Queen, in whom he found a true and steady Protectress, while the Earl of Somer fet's Power lasted, whose Hate was chiefly detrimental to Rakigh; for the King trusted him now; as he had Salisbury before, with implicit Confidence, even after he had loft his Affection: but he, by an intemperate Use of his Authority, having rendered himself

Printed from a MS. in Mr. Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 165.

See an excellent and copious Account of his Writings in the Life before-cited. Dr. Quincy, in his Dispensary, p. 445, 446. of the eleventh Edition, seems to undervalue this Medicine, chiefly on Account of the Number of Ingredients; but Mr. Oldys shews, in his Life of Sir Walter, p. 169, that great Liberties have been taken with this Receipt, and the Number of Ingredients heightened by Physicians.

obnoxious to the Law, Sir Walter saw him his Companion in the Tower, and his Estates once more in the Hands of the Crown. His Enemy thus out of the Court, Sir Walter was able to obtain the Favour he had been long seeking, which was, after thirteen Years Confinement, to get out of the Tower; not to lead a lazy and indolent Life in Retirement, for which, though cruelly spoiled by his Enemies, he yet wanted not a reasonable Provision; but to spend the latter Part of his Days, as he had spent the first in the Pursuit of Honour, and in the Service of his Country; or, as he himself has with great Dignity expressed it in a Letter to Secretary Winwood, by whose Interest chiefly this Favour was obtained, To die for the KING, and not by

the KING, is all the Ambition I have in the world !.

THE Scheme he had now at Heart was his old one, of fettling Guiana; a Scheme worthy of him, and which, as he first contrived, so he as constantly prosecuted. We have seen how many Voyages he encouraged thither in the Days of Queen Elizabeth. when confidering the many great Employments he enjoyed, one would have thought his M. . might have been otherwise occupied; and indeed so it must have been, if he had not been thoroughly perfuaded, and that too upon the best Evidence in the World, his own Eve-fight and Judgment, that this was the richest Country in the World, and the worthiest of being settled, for the Benefit of Britain. This Persuasion was so strong upon him, that during his Confinement he held a constant Intercourse with Guiana, sending at his own Charge every Year, or every fecond Year, a Ship, to keep the Indians in Hopes of his performing the Promise he had made them of coming to their Affistance, and delivering them from the Tyranny and Cruelty of the Spaniards, who now encroached upon them again. these Ships were brought over several Natives of that Country, with whom Sir Walter conversed in the Tower, and from whom questionless he received the clearest and most distinct Intelligence of the Situation and Richness of the Mines. that he could possibly defire k. Upon these Informations, he offered the Scheme for profecuting his Discovery to the Court three Years before he undertook it in Person; nor was there then any Doubts, either as to the Probability of the Thing. or as to its Lawfulness, notwithstanding the Peace-made with Spain; otherwise the King would not have made such Grants as he did, even at that Time: which shews that he was then con-D 2 vinced

Prince Henry endeavoured to obtain it for him. At last Sir Walter had 8000 l. for it, as he tells us in his Apology, p. 47. Raleigh's Remains, p. 164. Raleigh's Apology, p. 52, 55.

vinced Sir Walter had in his first Voyage discovered, and taken Possession of that Country for the Crown of England; and that confequently his Subjects were justly entitled to any Benefits that might accrue from this Discovery, without the least Respect had to the Pretentions of the Spaniards 1. It may also deserve our Notice, that at the Time Sir Walter first moved the Court upon this Subject, the Spanish Match was not thought of; but the Wants of King James were then great, and he may reasonably be prefumed to have at this Time placed as great Hopes in this Discovery, as he did afterwards in that Match; though when he came to idolize this Project afterwards, he grew somewhat out of Conceit with Sir Watter's, so that if he had pleased, he might for 700 l. have had an ample Pardon, and leave to relinquish his Voyage: but he remaining firm to his Purpose, and the King feeling his Necessities daily increase, was yet willing that he should proceed in his Enterprize, in hopes of profiting thereby, without losing the Prospect he then had of concluding the Spanish. Match. Such was the Situation of Sir Walter, and fuch the Disposition of the Court, when he obtained Leave to execute his Defign, and was empowered by a Royal Commission, (but at the Expence of himself and his Friends) to settle Guiana m.

IT has been a great Dispute, amongst Writers too of some Eminence, what fort of a Commission that was, with which Sir Walter was trusted. According to some, it should have been under the Great Seal of England, and directed To our trufty and well-beloved Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight"; according to others, and indeed according to the Account given by King James himfelf, it was under the Privy Seal, and without those Expressions of Trust or Grace o. To end this Dispute, I have consulted the most authentic Collection we have of public Instruments, and there I find a large Commission to Sir Walter Raleigh, which agrees with that in the Declaration , and is dated the 26th of August, in the 14th Year of the King's Reign over England, and over Scotland the 50th. It is likewise said to be, per breve de privato figillo; yet I think that it is not impossible it might pass both Seals, and I apprehend the Conjecture is warranted by an Expression in one of Sir Walter's Letters 4. How-

ever,

Annals of King James, A. D. 1615, 1617.

Coke's Detection of the four last Reigns, p. 85. Rapin's History of England, and Tindal's Notes.

See a Declaration of the Demeanour and Carriage of Sir Waker Raleigh, Knight, as well in his Voyage, &c. 4to, 1618.

P. 4.

P. Rymer's Fædera, Tom. xvi. p. 789.

Question of the Demeanour and Carriage of Sir Waker Raleigh, Knight, as well in his Voyage, &c. 4to, 1618.

P. 4.

P. Rymer's Fædera, Tom. xvi. p. 789.

Question of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 193.

ever, the Commission was certainly a legal Commission, and though the formal Expressions of Grace and Trust are omitted. yet the Powers granted him are very extensive in themselves, and as strongly put as Words can express; so that Sir Walter had all the Reason imaginable to conceive that this Patent implied a Pardon. By one Clause, be is constituted General and Commander in Chief of this Enterprize. By another, he is appointed Governor of the new Country he is to fettle, and this with ample Authority. By a third, he has a Power rarely intrusted with our Admirals now, that of exercising Martial Law, in such a Manner as the King's Lieutenant-General by Sea or Land, or any of the Lieutenants of the Counties of England had. It is impossible therefore to conceive, that when this Commission was granted, Sir Walter Raleigh was looked upon as a condemned Man, or that the Lords of the Privy Council, or Lord Privy Seal, could think it reasonable for the King to grant fuch full Power over the Lives of others, to one who had but a precarious Title to his own; and therefore I think that Sir Francis Bacon's Opinion, when Sir Walter confulted him whether it would not be adviseable for him to give a round Sum of Money, for a Pardon in common Form, answered like an honest Man, and a sound Lawyer: "Sir, the Knee-Timber 66 of your Voyage is Money: Spare your Purfe, in this particu-" lar, for upon my Life you have a fufficient Pardon for all that is past already, the King having under his Broad-Seal made " you ADMIRAL of your FLEET, and given you Power of the

" Martial Law over your Officers and Soldiers "."

It is now Time for us to enquire what Force this Gentleman had, when he failed upon this Expedition; for it appears clearly by the King's Commission, that the whole Expence of the Undertaking was to be defrayed by him and his Friends: which shews how fincere Sir Walter must have been in this Matter, especially if we consider, that he vested his whole Fortune therein, and even prevailed upon his Wife to fell her Estate at Mitcham, for the promoting this Design; in the Issue of which he interested also all his Friends; and how extensive his Influence in this Kind was, the following Lift of his Fleet will fufficiently inform us. First then, was the Admiral, a fine, new, stout Ship, built by Raleigh himself, called The Destiny, of the Burden of 440 Tons, and carrying 36 Pieces of Cannon. On board of it were Sir Walter Raleigh General, and his Son Walter Captain, besides 200 Men whereof 80 were Gentlemen-Voluntiers and Adventurers, most of them Sir Walter's Rela-D 3

Howel's Letters, vol. ii. p. 371.

tions; which Number was afterwards encreased. Second, The Fason, of London, 240 Tons, and 25 Pieces of Ordnance, Captain John Pennington Vice-Admiral, 80 Men, one Gentleman and no more. Third, The Encounter, 160 Tons, 17 Pieces of Ordnance, Edward Hastings Captain, [no Men more, except the Master, mentioned] but he dying in the Indies, was succeeded in the Command by Captain Whitney. Fourth, The Thunder, 150 Tons, 20 Pieces of Ordnance, Sir Warham Sentleger Captain, 6 Gentlemen, 60 Soldiers, and 10 Land-men. Fifth, The Flying Joan, 120 Tons, 14 Pieces of Ordnance, John Chidley Captain, 25 Men. Sixth, The Southampton, 80 Tons, 6 Pieces of Ordnance, John Bayly, Captain, 25 Mariners, 2 Gentlemen. Seventh, The Page, a Pinace, 25 Tons, 3 Rabnets of Brass, James Barker Captain, 8 Sailors. But before Raleigh left the Coast of England, he was joined by as many Ships more; fo that his whole Fleet confifted of thirteen Sail besides his own Ship. And though we cannot be so particular in the remaining Part, we may yet learn thus much of it; that one Ship, named The Convertine, was commanded by Captain Keymis; another, called The Confidence, was under the Charge of Captain Woolaston; there was a Shallop, named The Flying Hart, under Sir John Ferne; two Fly-Boats, under Captain Samuel King, and Captain Robert Smith; and a Caravel, with perhaps another, named The Chudley, befides .

WITH Part of this Fleet, Sir Walter failed from the Thomes on the 28th of March, 1617; but it was the Month of July, before he left Plymouth, with his whole Fleet: after which, he was forced into Corke, through Stress of Weather, and remained there till the 19th of August. On the 6th of September, he made the Canaries, where he obtained fome Refreshments, and an ample Certificate from the Governor, that he had behaved with great Justice and Equity. Thence he proceeded to Guiana, where he arrived in the beginning of November. He was received there with the utmost Joy by the Indians, who not only rendered him all the Service that could be expected from them, but would have perfuaded him to end all his Labours by remaining there, and taking upon him the Sovereignty of the Country; which, however, he refused. His extreme Sickness hindered him from undertaking the Discovery of the Mine in Person, and obliged him to intrust that important service to Captain Keymis. For this Purpose he ordered, on the 4th of December, five small ships to fail into the River Orenoque; aboard these five Vessels were five Companies of fifty Men each; the

Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 197.

North, the third by Mr. Raleigh, the fourth by Captain Prideaux, the fifth by Captain Chidley; Keymis, who was to conduct them, intended to have gone to the Mine with only eight Perfons, which Sir Walter thought too great a Hazard, and there-

fore wrote him the following Letter.

" KEYMIS, whereas you were resolved, after your Arri-" val into the Orenoque, to pass to the Mine with my Cousing 66 Herbert and fix Musqueteers, and to that End, defired to " have Sir John Ferne's Shallop; I do not allow of that Course, 66 because you cannot land so secretly, but that some Indians 66 on the River Side may discover you, who giving Knowledge thereof to the Spaniard, you may be cut off before you recover your Boat. I therefore advise you to suffer the Cap-" tains and Companies of the English to pass up Westward of the Mountain Aio, from whence you have no less than three "Miles to the Mine, and to encamp between the Spanish "Town and you, if there is any Town near it; that being fo " fecured, you may make Trial what Depth and Breadth the Mine holds, and whether or no it will answer our Hopes. "And if you find it royal, and the Spaniards begin to war 44 upon you, then let the Serjeant-Major repel them, if it is of in his Power, and drive them as far as he can; but if you " find the Mine is not fo rich as to persuade the holding of it, 46 and it requires a fecond Supply, then shall you bring but a Basket or two, to satisfy his Majesty that my Design was not " imaginary but true, though not answerable to his Majesty's " Expectation; for the Quantity of which I never gave Affuer rance, nor could. On the other Side, if you shall find any " great Number of Soldiers are newly fent into the Orenoque, as the Cassique of Caliana told us there were, and that the " Paffages are already enforced, fo as without manifest Peril of es my Son, yourfelf, and the other Captains, you cannot pass towards the Mine; then be well advised how you land, for "I know (that a few Gentlemen excepted) what a Scum of 66 Men you have; and I would not, for all the World, receive a Blow from the Spaniard to the Dishonour of the

In Obedience to this Order, Captain Keymis landed his Men in the Night, fomewhat nearer the Mine than he intended. They found presently, the Spaniards had Notice of their com-

D 4 ing,

Raleigh's Apology for his Voyage to Guiana, p. 26. " Ibid. p. 21.

ing, and were prepared to receive them. They shot at the English both with their great and small Shot, and the Spaniards being the Aggressors, the English landed, drove them to the Town, entered it with them, and plundered it. Mr. Raleigh, the General's Son, was killed in the Action; he himself staid at Trinidado, with the other Ships, resolving rather to burn, than yield, had the Spanish Armada attacked him. Captain Keymis made up the River with his Vessels; but in most Places near the Mine, he could not get within a Mile of the Shore, the River was so shallow; and where they could have made a Descent, Voilies of Musket-shot came from the Woods on their Boats, and Keymis did not proceed to the Mine, faying in his Excuse, that the English could not defend St. Thomas, the Town they had taken; that the Passages to the Mine were thick and unpaffable Woods, and that supposing they had discovered the Mine, they had no Men to work it. For these Reasons he concluded 'twas best not to open it at all. The Spaniards themselves had several Gold and Silver Mines near the Town, which were useless for want of Negroes w. At Keymis's Return, Releigh told him, he had undone him, and wounded his Credit with the King, past Recovery; which Reproach affected him so deeply, that he went into his Cabin, from whence, foon after, the Report of a Pistol was heard. Upon a Boy's going in, and asking whether he knew whence it proceeded, he faid, he fired it himself, because it had been long charged. About two Hours after he was found dead, with a great deal of Blood under him; and upon fearch, it was discovered, he had first shot himself, and the Wound not proving mortal, he had thrust a Knife after the Ball . Sir Walter, when he heard his Son was flain, faid, he mattered not the lofing a hundred Men, so his Reputation had been faved. He was afraid of the King's Displeasure, and with Grief and Sickness brought very low in his Health. He is blamed for not going up the River himself, which his Indisposition would not suffer him to do. Nine Weeks was Keymis fearching the River, all which Time his Master staid at Punta de Gallo, nearer Death than Life: yet the Misfortunes and Disappointment he met with, did not alter his Resolution of returning home, though several of his Men were for landing and feetling themselves at Newfoundland; others were for going to Holland; but the Major Part of his Company were

w See Raleigh's Letter to his Lady in his Remains, p. 178. See also his Apology, and Camden's Annals of the Reign of King James.

* See Raleigh's Apology, p. 39. and Howe's Letters.

were of his own Opinion, to come back to England, happen what would: fo, rather like a Prisoner than General, he arrived with his leaky Ships, first at Kinsale, in Ireland, and then at

Plymouth Y.

IMMEDIATELY after his coming to Ireland, a Proclamation issued, setting forth the King's Disapprobation of Sir Walter's Conduct, and requiring such as were acquainted with any of the Particulars, relating either to his Scheme, or to his Practices, should give Information of them to the Council. This Proclamation was dated the 11th of June 2, and though it pretends to refer to Sir Walter's Commission, yet it plainly mentions Things which are not to be found there. In the beginning of the Month of July, Sir Walter landed at Plymouth, and hearing of this Proclamation, resolved to surrender himself; but as he was on the Road to London a, he was met by Sir Lewis Stucley, Vice-Admiral of Devonshire, and his own Kinsman, whom the Court had made choice of to bring him up a Prisoner b. This Man appears to have acted very deceitfully, for he either suggested, or at least encouraged, a Design Sir Walter had framed for making his Escape, and when he had fo done, he basely betrayed him. It was then objected to Sir Walter, that he meant to convey himself to France, and had actually entered into fome unjustifiable Correspondence with the French King; but in Reality, Sir Walter intended to have gone again to Guiana, in order to efface the Memory of his late Miscarriage, by a happier Undertaking c. On his second Apprehension, he was carried to the Tower, from whence it was already fettled he should never be released but by Death. It was the Earnestness of the Spanish Court, by their Instrument Count Gondemar, produced this Heat in the English Councils d, and, yet if we strictly consider the Matter, we shall find that the Violence with which the Spanish Court drove this Profecution, is one of the strongest Proofs that can be alledged in favour of Sir Walter's Scheme; for if Guiana was a Place of no Confequence, why were they so uneasy about it? If Sir Walter had

PRaleigh's Apology, and King James's Declaration.

Rymer's Fædera, Tom. xvii. p. 92.

MS. quoted by Mr. Oldys.

Stucley's Petition and Information, touching his own Behaviour in the Charge of bringing up Sir Walter Raleigh, 4to. 1618. Camden's Annals of King James, A. D. 1618.

See Sir Walter Raleigh's Dying-Speech.

For this the Reader may find numerous Authorities in Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 210.

been no more than a Projector, who fought to restore his own broken Fortunes by fleecing other People, as the Calumnies of those Times suggested, why was he not let alone? The more Expeditions he had made, the more clearly his Folly would have appeared, and the greater Advantage the Spaniards would have reaped from its Appearance; because it would have difcountenanced all succeeding Projects: but by thus contriving to murder him, they must in the Opinion of every impartial Judge, raise the Credit of his Project, though they might frighten People at that Time from carrying it into Execution. In thort, the Spaniards knew what Sir Walter's Friends believed: the latter confided in him; the former were politive as he was, because they knew by Experience, that Guiana was rich in Gold, and that if it was once throughly fettled by the English, there would be an End of their Empire in the West-Indies . But to return to Sir Walter.

IT was not easy, though his Death was already decreed, to find a Way to take his Life. His Conduct in his late Expedition, how criminal foever in the Eyes of the Court, was far from being so in the Sight of the Nation; and, though Judges could be found who might pronounce it Felony or Treason, yet at that Time of Day it was not easy to meet with a Jury who, taking this upon Truft, would find him guilty. The Commiffioners therefore, who had been appointed to inquire into the Matter, and who had over and over examined him, finally reported, that no Ground of Legal Judgment could be drawn from what had passed in this late Expedition! Upon this, it was refolved to call him down to Judgment upon his former Sentence, which was accordingly done, with all the Circumstances of Iniquity and Brutality that can be well conceived. He was taken

This I have great Reason to say, having consulted many of the Spanish Writers while I was composing the short History of Spanish America. Francis Coreal, one of the best and latest Spanish Travellers, acknowledges this Country to be very rich; and in the Map printed with his Travels, the Place is marked where the Lake of Parima and the City of Manoa are supposed to be; and in the French Translation printed at Amsterdam in 1722, Sir Walter Raleigh's Voyage to Guiana is added as a necessary Supplement. Also in Sanson's Map, the Lake of Parima and the City of Manoa are both visible; so that if what is reported of them be sabulous, yet the Opinion is not hitherto exploded. In De Lisle's Maps they are mentioned, for I have consulted several; and what is more, there are Mines marked in this Country, of which the Spaniards are still suspiciously careful.

1 Howell's Letters, vol. ii. p. 372.

taken out of his Bed in the hot Fit of an Ague, and so brought to the Bar of the Court of King's-Bench, where Sir Henry Montague, then Chief Justice, ordered the Record of his Conviction to be read, and then demanded, what he had to offer why Execution should not be awarded? To this Sir Walter pleaded his Commission, which was immediately over-ruled: then he would have justified his Conduct in Guiana, but that the Court would not hear; and so Execution was awarded, and the King's Warrant for it produced, which had been signed and sealed before-hand. That this Judgment was illegal, and that Sir Walter was really murdered, has been often said, and I believe seldom doubted; but I think it has not been made so plain as it might be, and therefore in Gratitude to his Memory I will attempt it, by shewing, that the Judgment was absolutely ille-

gal, as well as it was manifestly iniquitous.

IT is a Maxim in our Law, that The King can do no Wrong; and most certain it is, that no King can do legal Wrong, that is to fay, can employ the Law to unjust Purposes. Sir Walter Raleigh after his Conviction was dead in Law, and therefore, if King James's Commission to him had not the Virtue of a Pardon what was it? Did it empower a Dead Man to act, and not only to act, but to have a Power over the Lives and Estates of the Living? It either conveyed Authority, or it did not. If it did convey Authority, then Sir Walter was capable of receiving it; that is, he was no longer dead in Law, or, in other Words, he was pardoned. If it conveyed no Authority, then this was an Act of legal Wrong. I cannot help the Blunder; the Absurdity is in the Thing, and not in my Expression. Commission under the Privy, if not under the Great-Seal, granted by the King with the Advice of his Council, to a dead Man; or, to put it otherwise, a lawful Commission given to a Man dead in Law, is Nonsense not to be endured; and therefore to avoid this, we must conceive as Sir Francis Bacon, and every other Lawyer did, that the Commission included a Pardon. Indeed the fame Thing may be made out in much fewer Words. Grace is not so strong a Mark of Royal Favour as Trust; and therefore, where the latter appears, the Law ought, and indeed does, presume the former. This Judgment, therefore, did not only murder Sir Walter Raleigh, but in this Instance subverted the Constitution, and ought to be looked upon, no only as an Act of the basest Prostitution, but as the most flagrant Violation of Justice that ever was committed.

As the Method of bringing him to his Death was violent and unjust, so the manner was hasty and inhuman. The very next Day, being Thursday the 29th of October, and the Lord-Mayor's Day, Sir Walter was carried by the Sheriffs of Middlesex to fuffer in the Old Palace-Yard. We have many Accounts of his Death, and particularly one written by Doctor Robert Toun-Son, then Dean of Westminster, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, who affifted him in his last Moments h. He tells us, that he had a Contempt of Death, which surprized this Divine, who expostulated with him thereupon. Sir Walter told him plainly. that he never feared Death, and much less then, for which he bleffed God; that as to the manner of it, though to others it might seem grievous, yet for himself he had rather die so than in a burning Fever. That this was the Effect of Christian Courage: he convinced the Doctor then, and I think, fays he, all the Spectators at his Death. He said nothing as to the old Plot, but justified himself fully as to what had been lately objected against him. The Doctor having put him in Mind of the Earl of Estex, he said, that Lord was taken off by a Trick; which he told the Doctor privately, but is not fet down by him. Sir Walter eat his Breakfast heartily that Morning, smoked his Pipe, and made no more of Death, fays my Author, than if he had been to take a Journey i. On the Scaffold he converfed freely with some of the Nobility, who were there to see him die; justified himself clearly from all Imputations, and like a Man of true Honour, vindicated his Loyalty, even to that pufillanimous Prince, who thus facrificed him to the Spaniards k. Dean Tounson observes, that every Body gave Credit to what Sir Walter faid at his Death, which rendered Sir Lewis Stucley. and the Frenchman who betrayed him, extremely odious. As to the latter, I know not what became of him; but as to the former, he was catched in Whitehall, clipping the Gold bestowed

h This Account is contained in a Letter from Dean Tounson to Sir John Isham of Lamport, in Northamptonshire, dated, Westminster-College, Nov. 9, 1618, which is still preserved in the Family. The Dean says, a very particular Account of all that passed at Sir Walter's Death, was written by one Mr. Crasord, and designed for the Press, himself, having read and approved it; but whether this ever was published, I cannot say.

I See an Account of his Death at the End of Sir Thomas Overbury's Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, as also joined to his Remains; but the Particulars above-mentioned are in Dean Tounson's Account.

The most accurate Copy of this Speech is in Mr. Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 228.

upon him for this infamous Act, tried and condemned for it, and having stripped himself to his Shirt, to raise wherewith to purchase a Pardon, he went to hide himself in the Island of Lundy, where he died, both mad and a Beggar, in less than two

Years after Sir Walter Raleigh 1.

THIS End had our illustrious Hero when he had lived fixtyfix Years m. We have infifted too long upon his Life to be under any Necessity of dwelling upon his Character, of which he who would frame a right Opinion must consider attentively his Actions and his Writings. He raifed himself to Honour while living, and has secured an endless Reputation after Death, by a Series of noble and generous Atchievements he acted in very different Capacities, and excelled in all. He distinguished himself as a Soldier by his Courage, by his Conduct as a Commander; a bold Sailor, a hearty Friend to Seamen, and yet no Admiral maintained better Discipline; a wise Statesman, a profound Scholar, a learned and withal a practical Philosopher. In Regard to his private Life, a beneficent Master, a kind Husband, an affectionate Father, and in Respect to the World a-warm Friend, a pleasant Companion, and a fine Gentleman. In'a Word, he may be truly stiled the English Xenophon; for no Man of his Age did Things more worthy of being recorded, and no Man was more able to record them than himself; insomuch, that we may fay of him, as Scaliger did of Cafar, That he fought and wrote with the same inimitable Spirit. And thus I take my leave of one, whom it is impossible to praise enough.

As to the other Seamen of Note in this Reign, they are either such as have been already spoken of, or, living also in the next, may more regularly be mentioned there. I shall, therefore, conclude this Chapter with observing, that the Death of Sir Walter Raleigh was so distasteful an Act to the whole Nation, that the Court to wipe off the Odium, thought proper to publish a Declaration, wherein, as it was pretended, the true Motives and real Causes of his Death were contained. But this Piece was so far from answering the End for which it was sent abroad, that it really served to justify Sir Walter, even be-

Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 94. Frankland's Annals of King James and King Charles I. p. 32. Howell's Letters, vol. ii. p. 372. Camden's Annals of King James, A. D. 1620. The Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 539, &c. Camden's Annals. A. D. 1618. A Declaration of the Demeanour of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, 4to, 1618.

yond his own Apology. After this King James granted a new Commission for settling Guiana, which shews his absolute Sense of our having a Right to it, and demonstrates also the Falsehood of that Report, that Sir Walter devised his Settlement of Guiana only to repair his Losses through his Imprisonment. In other Cases the King was kind enough to such as projected Discoveries and Settlements; but taking all Things in the Lights his several Favourites set them, he was sometimes dilatory, and always unsteady. As to Buckingham's Management, within whose Province, as Lord-High-Admiral these Things principally lay, we shall be obliged to treat of it in the next Chapter, to which it is Time we should proceed.

CHAP. II.

The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN under the Reign of Charles I. comprehending an Account of our Naval Expeditions against the French and Spaniards, our Differences with the Dutch about the Right of Fishing, and our Dominion over the British Sea; the Progress of Trade, and Navigation, settling Colonies, and other Maritime Transactions within that Compass of Time; together with an Account of the eminent Seamen who flourished therein.

Pon the Demise of King James, his only Son Charles. Prince of Wales succeeded him, not only quietly, but with the general Approbation of his Subjects a. He was in the Flower of his Age, had shewn himself a Person of great Abilities, and after the breaking of the Spanish Match, had rendered himself for a Time popular by his Conduct b. His Father left him much incumbered at the Time of his Decease; for the Government was deeply in Debt, a War with Spain was just begun, and the Minister, I mean the Duke of Buckingham, who had

Francis Osborne's Traditional Memoirs of King James. About a Year after Sir Walter's Death, King James granted a Commission to Captain Roger North, to settle a Colony in Guiana Mr. Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 223. Frankland's Annals, p. 107. Clarendon, Whitlock, Warwick, Welwood. Frankland's Annals, p. 93.

had been likewise his Father's, was generally hated '. In this Situation every Thing was subject to wrong Constructions. Eight thousand Men raised for the Service of the Palatinate. were ordered to rendezvous at Plymouth, and in their Passage thither, Coat and Conduct-Money, was demanded of the Country to be repaid out of the Exchequer. The Behaviour of these Troops was very licentious, and the long Continuance of Peace made it appear more fo. The Clamour thereupon grew high, and the King, to remedy this Evil, granted a Commission for executing Martial Law, which was taken for a new Grievance, more heavy than any of the rest . The Truth was, that while Buckingham remained in the King's Council, all Things were attributed to him and the Nation were so prejudiced against him, that whatever was reputed to be done by him was held a Grievance; and though no Man faw this more clearly than the King, yer, by an Infatuation not eafily to be accounted for, he trufted him as much, and loved him much more than his Father had ever done.

THE King's Marriage with the Princess Henrietta-Maria, Daughter to Henry IV. of France, had been concluded in the Life-time of King James, and after his Decease, the King was married to her by Proxy. In the Month of June, 1625, Buckingbam went to attend her with the Royal Navy, and brought her to Dover; from thence she went to Canterbury, where the Marriage was consummated; and on the 16th of the same Month, their Majesties entered London privately, the Plague daily encreasing in the Suburbs. It was not long before an unfortunate Transaction rendered this Marriage disagreeable to the Nation, and as this Transaction related to the Navy, it falls particularly under our Cognizance; and we shall handle it the more at large, because in most of our general Histories, it is

treated very confusedly.

THE Marquis de Effiat, Ambassador from France, to King James, had represented to his Majesty, that the Power of the Catholic King in Italy was dangerous to all Europe; that the King his Master was equally inclined with his Britannic Majesty, to pull it down; but wanting a sufficient Maritime Force, was desirous of borrowing from his Majesty a few Ships, to enable him to execute the Design he had formed against

e Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 14. d Rushworth, Frankland, Clarendon, &c. e Stowe's Annals, continued by Edmond Howes, p. 1041. Frankland's Annals, p. 108. Kennet's compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 4.

against Genoa. To this the King condescended, and it was agreed, that the great Neptune, a Man of War, commanded by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and fix Merchant Ships of between 3 and 400 hundred Tons Burden, should be lent to the French; but foon after this Agreement, the Rochellers made an Application here, fignifying, that they had just Grounds to apprehend, that this English Squadron would be employed for destroying the Protestant Interest in France, instead of pulling down the King of Spain's Power in Italy. The Duke of Buckingham knowing that this would be little relished by Captain Pennington, who was to go Admiral of the Fleet, and the Owners of the Ships, he gave them private Inftructions, contrary to the public Contract with France, whereby they were directed not to serve against Rochelle; but upon their coming into a French Port, in the Month of May, they were told by the Duke of Montmorancy, that they were intended to serve, and should serve against Rochelle; upon which, the Sailors on board the Fleet, figned what is called by them, a round Robin, that is, a Paper containing their Resolution not to engage in that Service, with their Names fublcribed in a Circle, that it might not be discerned who figned first. Pennington upon this, fairly failed away with the whole Squadron, and returned into the Downs in the beginning of July, from whence he fent a Letter to the Duke of Buckingham, defiring to be excused from that Service. The Duke, without acquainting the King, or confulting the Council, directed Lord Conway, then Secretary of State, to write a Letter to Captain Pennington, commanding him to put all the Ships into the Hands of the French. This, however, not taking Effect, the Duke furreptitiously, and without the King's knowing any Thing of, the Defign upon Rochelle, procured his Letter to Captain Pennington, to the same Effect. Upon this, in the Month of August he sailed a second Time to Diep, where according to his Instructions, the Merchants Ships were delivered to the French; but Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded the King's Ship, weighed Anchor, and put to Sea: and so honest were all the Seamen on board these Ships, that, except one Gunner, they all quitted them, and returned to England; but as for the Ships, they remained with the French, and were actually made use of against Rochelle, contrary to the King's Intention, and to the great Dishonour of the Nation. This Affair made a great Noise, and came at last to form an Article in an Impeachment against the Duke of Buckingham f.

f Frankland's Annals, p. 156. Kennet's compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 6. See also Capt. John Pennington's Letter to the Duke

In the mean Time the Defign went on of invading Spain, and a flout Fleet was provided for that Purpose; but as Buckingham, in Quality of Lord High-Admiral, had the supreme Direction of that Affair, the Nation looked upon it with an evil Eve. and were not to much displeased at its Miscarriage, as glad of an Opportunity of railing at the Duke, and those, who by his Procurement, were intrusted with the Command of the Fleet, and the Forces on board it s, The whole of this Transaction has been very differently related, according to the Humours of those who penned the Accounts; however, there are very Authentic Memoirs remaining, and from these I shall give as concise and impartial a Detail of the whole Affair as I can, which will shew how dangerous a Thing it is for Princes to employ Persons generally disagreeable to their Subjects, whereby they transfer the Refentment attending their Miscarriages upon themselves.

THE War with Spain was chiefly of the Duke of Buckingbam's procuring, and feems to have proceeded rather from his personal Distaste to Count Olivarez, than any solid or honourable Motive; however, after the War was begun, it ought certainly to have been profecuted, because, though he acted from private Pique, and at a Time when it visibly served his own particular Purposes, yet without Question, the Nation had been grievously injured by the Spaniards, and there was therefore sufficient Ground for taking all the Advantages our Naval Power, and our Alliance with the Dutch, gave us, as well as the Weakness of the Enemy, and their firm Persuasion, that whatever we might pretend, we would not actually commit Hostilities. Yet, though it was his own War, though he had engaged the King to profecute it with much Heat, to draw together a great Fleet, and a considerable Body of Forces, which were to embark on board it; yet when all Things were ready, and the Fleet on the Point of going to Sea, the Duke declined the Command, and resolved to send another Person in his

Duke of Buckingham, from on board the Vantguard in the Downs, July 27, 1625, in the Cabala, p. 350. But the most distinct Account is to be gathered out of the seventh and eighth Articles of the Impeachment exhibited against the Duke of Buckingham by the House of Commons, in 1626, and the Speech of Mr. Glanvill, on the said Articles.

5 Frankland's Annals, p. 114. Rushworth, Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, Kennet, Rapin.

his Stead, which was of very ill Consequence to the whole

Defign .

SIR Edward Geeil, Grandion to the great Lord Burleigh, was the Person made Choice of for this Command; an old Soldier, it is true, but no Seaman, and therefore not qualified for the fupreme Direction of fuch an Undertaking 1. The Earls of Effex and Denbigh were appointed his Vice and Rear-Admirals; and that he might be the fitter to command Men of fuch Quality, he was created Baron of Putney, and Viscount Wimbleton, and had likewise the Rank given him of Lord Marshal L. It was thought strange, that though there wanted not many able Seamen, fuch as Sir Robert Manfel, Sir William Monfon, and others, yet none of them were intrusted, but merely such as were in the Duke's Favour, which was both an unreasonable and an impolitic Thing. The Force employed was very confiderable, viz. Eighty Ships, English and Dutch, and ten good Regiments; neither was it improbable, that if Matters had been well concerted, and properly executed, this Expedition might have turned to the Benefit of the Nation, and the Hopour of the King and his Ministry. The Spanish Plate-Fleet was then returning Home with above a Million on board; and if they had gone to Tercera, they must have infallibly have been Masters of them, and by the Destruction of fifty or fixty Galleons, had disabled the Maritime Power of Spain, for at least a Century. But the Fleet did not fail till October, and then they went upon no fettled Scheme, but all was left to the Discretion of Men, who in Reality were no fit Judges of such Matters, and befides were divided amongst themselves 1.

THE General failed from Plymouth the 7th of October, 1625; but when the Fleet was got some Leagues to Sea, their Ships were separated by a Storm, so that they were many Days before they got together at their appointed Rendezvous off Cape Vincent. On the 19th of October, a Council was held, wherein it was resolved to attack Cadiz, which accordingly they did on the 22d of October. My Lord Effex stood into the Bay,

where

h Frankland's Annals, p. 114. Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 106. Kennet's compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 12, 13. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 15. Baker, Welwood, Rapin. Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 140. Kennet's Compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 12. See a copious Account of the Motives to, and Miscarriages in this Voyage, by Sir William Monson, in his Naval Tracts.

where he found seventeen good Ships riding under the Town. and eight or ten Gallies; these he bravely attacked, but for want of proper Orders, and due Affistance, the Spanish Ships were fuffered to retire to Port-Real, whither the Lord Marshal did not think fit to follow them. Then some Thousands of Soldiers were landed, and the Fort of Puntall was taken; after which they proceeded to make some Attempts upon the Town. The Soldiers unfortunately becoming Mafters of too much Wine, got excessively drunk, and became so careless, that if the Enemy had known, or been vigilant enough to have taken this Advantage, few of them had returned home. The Fright into which this put their Officers, engaged them to re-ship their Forces, and then it was concluded to cruize off Cape St. Vincent, for the Flota. There the Men grew fickly, and by the strangest Management that ever was heard of, that is, diffributing the Sick, under Pretence of taking better Care of them, two in each Ship, the whole Fleet was infected, and that to such a Degree, as scarce left them Hands enough to bring it Home. This, however, they performed in the Month of December, having done little Hurt to the Enemy, and acquired less Honour themselves m; all which was foreseen, nay, and foretold too, before the Fleet left England. On their Return, a Charge was exhibited against the General, by the Earl of Effex, and nine other Officers of Diflinction; Lord Wimbleton justified himself in a long Answer to their Charge. Both Pieces are yet remaining, and serve only to demonstrate that Want of Experience and Unanimity proved the Ruin of this Expedition. These Proceedings increased the People's Discontents, exposed the Duke to greater Odium, and lessened the Reputation of our Naval Force, which quickly produced numerous Inconveniencies.

WHILE the Clamour still subsisted on the Want of Success attending this Fleet abroad, the Duke of Buckingham sell into another Error, in the Execution of his Office as Lord High-E 2

[&]quot; See the several Accounts of this Voyage in the Authors before cited.

" Both the Officers Charge, and Lord Wimbleton's Answer are printed in Lediard's Naval History. The Reader who shall compare these with Sir William Monson's Resections on this Lord's Conduct, will discern, that he is hardly and unjustly created. Sir William arraigns him for calling Councils when he should have been acting; the Officers accuse him for not calling Councils, but acting of his own Head. The Truth seems to be, he had no Notion of a Sea-Command, and his Officers no Inclination to obey him.

Admiral. He was vexed at the Noise that had been made about the Merchant Ships put into the Hands of the French, and employed against Rochelle o, and therefore took Occasion in the latter End of the Year 1626, to cause a French Ship, called the St. Peter, of Havre de Grace, to be arrested. The Pretence was, that it was laden with Spanish Effects; which, however, the French denied, and afferted that the Goods in the Ship belonged to French Merchants, or to English and Dutch P. Hereupon a Commission was granted to hear Evidence as to this Point, and it appearing plainly, that there was no just Ground of Seizure, the Ship was ordered to be released; and at last was released, but not before the French King made some Reprisals, which so irritated the Nation, that this was made an Article in the Duke's Impeachment *. Matter, however, was compromized between the two Kings, and the good Correspondence between their Subjects for a Time restored; but at the Bottom, there was no cordial Reconciliation: and so this Quarrel, like a Wound ill cured, broke quickly out again with worse Symptoms than before 9.

THE War in which the King was engaged, in order to have procured the Restitution of the Palatinate to his Brother, had drawn him into a League with Denmark, which obliged him to send a Squadron of Ships to that King's Assistance; and this being attended with little Success, he was called upon for surther Supplies. His Parliaments all this Time were little inclined to assist him, because he would not part with Buckingham; and this obliged him to have Recourse to such Methods for Supply, as his Lawyers told him were justifiable. Amongst the rest, he obliged the Sea-Ports to surnish him with Ships: of the City of London he demanded twenty, and of other Places in Proportion. The Inhabitants thought this so hard, that many who had no immediate dependance upon Trade, were for quitting Maritime Places, and retiring up into the Country. This

Conduct

Sir Philip Warwick accounts for this Distaste of the Duke towards the French. He says, that Cardinal Richlieu duped the Dutch and English, both, by pretending to execute a very seasible Scheme, for preventing the Spaniards sending any Supplies into Germany, and under that Pretence, procuring their Ships, and then using them against the Rochellers.

P Kennet's Compleat History of England, vol. iii.

p. 28.

It is the fifth Article of the Impeachment; and the Duke, in his Answer drawn by Sir Nicholas Hide, justisses h mself very plausibly.

Rushworth, Frankland, Baker, Echard, Rapin.

Conduct of theirs made the Burden still more intolerable upon those who staid behind, and the Consequence of their Remonstrances was a Proclamation, requiring such as had quitted the Sea-Coast, to return immediately to their former Dwellings: and this Rise had the first Disturbances in this unfortunate Reign. They were quickly increased by the rash Management of Buckingham, who, though he saw his Master so deeply embarrassed, with the Wars in which he was already engaged, yet plunged him into another with France, very precipitately,

and against all the Rules of true Policy.

THE Queen's French Servants, who were all bigotted Papiffs, had not only acted indifcreetly in Matters relating to their Religion; but had likewise drawn the Queen to take some very wrong Steps: upon which Buckingham engaged his Majesty to dismiss her French Servants, which he did the first of July 1626, and then fent the Lord Carleton to represent his Reasons for taking so quick a Measure to the French King. That Prince refused him Audience, and to shew his Sense of the Thing, immediately feized 120 Ships which were in his Ports, and undertook the fiege of Rochelle; though our King had been lately a Mediator between him and his Protestant Subjects. Upon this, the latter applied themselves to King Charles, who ordered a Fleet of thirty Sail to be equipped for their Relief, and fent it under the Command of the Earl of Denbigh: but this being so late in the Year as the Month of October, his Lordship found it impracticable to execute his Commission, and so after continuing some Time at Sea in hard Weather, returned into Port, which not only disappointed the King's Intention, but also hurt his Reputation; for the Rochellers began to suspect the Sincerity of this Defign, and whether we really intended to affift them or not'. The Duke of Buckingham, to put the Thing out of Dispute, caused a great Fleet to be drawn together the next Year, and an Army of seven thousand Men to be put on board it, resolving to go himself as Admiral and Commander in chief. He failed from Portsmouth the twenty-seventh of June, and landed on the Island of Rhee; though at first he intended to have made a Descent on Oleron, and actually promised so much to the Duke of Soubize, whom he sent to Rochelle, to acquaint the Inhabitants of his coming to their Relief. E 3 They

Kennet's Compleat History of England. Rushworth, Frankland, Rapin.

They received this Message coldly; for the French King having corrupted some by his Gold, and terrifying many more by his Power, the Rochellers were now afraid to receive the very Suc-

cours they had demanded t.

THE Duke landed his Troops on the last of July, not without strong Opposition from Mr. de Toyras, the French Governor, whom he forced to retire, though not without fome Loss. Upon this Occasion the English fell into the same Errors in Conduct which they had committed in the Cadiz Expedition. The Fort of la Prè, which covered the Landing-Place, they neglected, though the French themselves in their Fright had flighted it, and it might have been taken without any Trouble, and was a Place of fo great Consequence, that if it had been in the Hands of the English it would have prevented the French from introducing any Supplies. At first, it is certain, the French Court was exceedingly alarmed, and it is faid, the King fell fick upon it; but their Terrors quickly wore off, when they were informed that the Duke had no great Capacity as a Commander, and withal, too much Pride to take Advice. The Town of St. Martin's was quickly taken by the English, and his Grace then invested the Citadel, but gave evident Proofs of his want of Skill in managing the Siege. At first, he quartered his Troops about the Place without entrenching, which at last, however, he was forced to do; then he entered into Conferences with the Governor, and refusing to communicate the Substance of them to his Officers, discouraged his own People, and enabled the French to deceive him by a Sham Treaty; during which the Fort received a Supply. By this Time the Rochellers had declared for the English, their Confidence being as unseasonable for themselves, as their Suspicions had been before for the English; for this Declaration of theirs, and the Expectation he had of Succours from England, which were to be fent him under the Command of the Earl of Holland, engaged Buckingham to remain so long in his Camp, that his Troops were much diminished. At length on the fixth of November, he made a general Affault, when it appeared, that the Place was inacceffible, at least to Forces under such Circumstances as his were. Two Days after, he resolved upon a Retreat, which was as ill conducted as the rest of the Expedition. It was to be made in the Sight of an Enemy as strong in Foot, and more numerous in Horse than themselves, over a narrow Cause-way with Salt-Pits

Pits on each Side: yet there was no Precaution taken of erecting a Fort, or so much as throwing up a Retrenchment to cover the Entrance of the Passage, whereby the Army was so much exposed, that abundance of brave Men were killed in this Retreat, which the best Accounts sum up thus; fifty Officers, two thousand common Soldiers, and thirty-five Volunteers of of Note. With equal Shame and Loss therefore, the Duke concluded this unlucky Expedition, embarking all his Forces on the ninth of the same Month, and sending the poor Rochellers a Promife, that he would come again to their Relief; which, however, he did not live to perform. To compleat his Misfortune, as he entered Plymouth, he met the Earl of Holland with the promifed Succours failing out, who now returned with him. There never was a more fatal Undertaking than this. It hurt the King, as it intirely ruined the Duke. The Merchants were difcouraged from carrying on Trade by the impressing their Ships, and the King was fo little able to pay the Seamen, that they came in Crowds, and clamoured at Whitehall ".

To remedy these Evils, a Parliament was called in the Beginning of 1628, wherein nothing passed but Disputes between the King and the Commons; fo that at last it was prorogued without granting Supplies. The King, however, exerted himself to the utmost, in preparing a Fleet to make good what the Duke of Buckingham had promised to the Inhabitants of Rochelle. With this View a Fleet of fifty Sail was affembled at Pymouth in the Spring, and a large Body of Marines embarked, the Command of it was given to the Earl of Denbigh, who was Brother-inlaw to Buckingbam, and who failed from that Port on the feventeenth of April, coming to Anchor in the Road of Rochelle on the first of May. On his Arrival, he found twenty Sail of the King of France's Ships riding before the Harbour, and being much superior in Number and Strength, he sent Advice into the Town, that he would fink the French Ships as foon as the Wind came West, and made a higher Flood. About the eighth of May the Wind and Tide served accordingly, and the Rochellers expected and follicited for that Season of Deliverance. But the Earl, without embracing the Opportunity, weighed Anchor, and failed away, fuffering four of the French Ships to pursue, as it were, the English Fleet, which arrived at Plymouth on the twenty-fixth of May. This other inglorious Expedition was a greater Discouragement to the poor Rochellers, and encreased the Fears and Jealousies of a Popish Interest at Home.

" Sir Richard Granville's Journal, Frankland's Annals, Ruthworth's Collections, Whitlock's Memorials, Warwick's Memoirs.

One Le Brun a Frenchman, Captain in the English Fleet, gave in Depositions before the Mayor of Plymouth on the sixteenth of May, which argued Treachery, or apparent Cowardice, in the Management of this late Expedition. This Account was certified by the Mayor of Plymouth, and the Burgesses of that Town in Parliament, by whom it was communicated to the Council-Table, from whence a Letter was directed to the Duke of Buckingham as Lord High-Admiral, dated the thirtieth of May, 1628, to signify his Majesty's Pleasure, that the Earl of Denbigh should return back to relieve the Town of Rochelle, with the Fleet under his Charge, and with other Ships prepared at Partsmouth and Plymouth. But notwithstanding this Order of Council, no such Return was made, nor any Enquiry into the Obstruction of it.

NOTWITHSTANDING these repeated Defeats, the Cries of the Rochellers, and the Clamours of the People were fo loud, that a third Fleet was prepared for the Relief of that City, now by a close Siege reduced to the last Extremity. The Duke of Buckingham chose to command in Person, and to that End came to Portsmouth; where on the twenty-third of August, having been at Breakfast with Soubize, and the General Officers, John Pelton (late Lieutenant of a Regiment of Foot, under Sir John Ramsey) placed himself in an Entry through which the Duke was to pass, who walking along with Sir Thomas Frier, and inclining his Ear to him in the Posture of Attention, Felton with a Back-Blow stabbed him on the left Side into the very Heart, leaving the Knife in his Body, which the Duke pulled out with his own Hand, and then fell down, crying only, The Villain bath killed me! Felton slipt away, and might have gone off undiscovered, but that either his Conscience or his Insolence betrayed him. For while the general Rumour was, that the Murderer must be a Frenchman, and some began to suspect Soubize as a Party in it; Felton stept out and faid, I am the Man who did the Deed: let no Man suffer that is Innocent. Upon which he was apprehended and fent Prisoner to London.

THIS Accident did not prevent the King's profecuting his Design, the very next Day his Majesty made the Earl of Lindfey Admiral, Moreton and Mountjoy, Vice and Rear-Admirals; and, as an illustrious foreign Writer assures us, his Care and Presence had such an Effect in preparing for this Voyage, that more was dispatched now in ten or twelve Days, than in many

* Kennet's History of England, p. 48. Duke of Rohan's Memoirs, Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, Frankland's Annals.

Weeks

Weeks before x; which is a demonstrative Proof of two Things, of which many of our Writers of History have affected to doubt, viz. that the King was hearty in his Design, and that the Rochellers were convinced of it. This Expedition, however, was not more fortunate than the former. The Fleet failed the eighth of September, 1628, and arriving before Rochelle, found the Boom, raised to block up the Entrance of the Port, fo strong, that though many Attempts were made to break through it, yet they proved vain, so that the Rochellers were glad to accept of Terms from their own Prince, and actually surrendered the Place on the eighteenth of October, the English Fleet looking on, but not able to help them; and, to compleat their Misfortunes, the very Night after the City was given up, the Sea made fuch a Breach as would have opened an Entrance for the largest Ship in the English Fleet, With this Expedition ended the War with France, though a Peace was not made till the succeeding Year .

FROM this Time the French began to affect a Maritime Power, and to be extremely uneafy at the growth of the English Shipping. This was the Effect of Cardinal Richlieu's Politics. who best understood the different Interests of the several Eurobean Powers, and how to manage them so as to make them subfervient to the Ends of France, of any Minister that Nation ever had, or, it is to be hoped for the Peace of Christendom, ever will have. He brought in the Swedes, to destroy the Power of the House of Austria in Germany, and had Address enough to engage us to affift in that Defign, upon the plaufible Pretence of favouring the Protestant Interest a. Then his Agents in Holland drew that State into a Jealousy of our Dominion over the Narrow Seas, our Claim to the fole Right of fishing, or permitting to fish in them, and expecting the Honour of the Flag, at a considerable Distance from our own Shores. After these Notions had been a while the Subjects of common Discourse among the Dutch, the famous Hugo Grotius, was induced to write a Treatife, under the Title of Mare liberum, wherein, with great Learning and Eloquence, he endeavoured to shew the Weakness of our Title to Power over the Sea; which ac-

Duke of Rohan's Memoirs, p. 188. He was the chief of the Huguenots, and here on the Spot; therefore least likely to be deceived himself, or to deceive others.

y Frankland's Annals, p. . Kennet's compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 49. Warwick's Me-² Kennet's Compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 53. a This Matter is very fairly stated by Sir Philip Warwick, in his Memoirs, p. 37.

cording to his Notion, was like the Air, a Gift from God. common to all Nations b. This was answered by Selden, in his famous Treatife, entitled, Mare Claufum, wherein he has effectually demonstrated from the Principles of the Law of Nature and Nations, that a Dominion over the Sea may be acquired, from the most authentic Histories, that such a Dominion has been claimed and enjoyed by feveral Nations, and submitted to by others for their common Benefit; that this in Fact was the Case of the Inhabitants of this Island, who at all Times, and under every Kind of Government, had claimed. exercised, and constantly enjoyed such a Dominion, which had been confessed by their Neighbours, frequently, and in the most folemn Manner c. All this, with Learning, Industry, and Judgment superior to Praise, this great Man hath fully and unquestionably made out for the Satisfaction of Foreigners, as it is the Delign of this Work (if I may be allowed to mention it in the same Page with Mr. Selden's) to impress the same Sentiments on the Minds of all fenfible Britons, viz. That they have an hereditary, uninterrupted Right to the Sovereignty of their Seas, conveyed to them from their earliest Ancestors, in Trust for their latest Posterity. This Book of Mr. Selden's was published in 1634, and by the Countenance then, and afterwards, shewn by King Charles towards this extraordinary Performance, we may fairly conclude, That he had very just and generous Notions of his own, and his People's Rights in this Respect, though he was very unfortunate in taking such Methods as he did to support them 4.

The French Minister persisted steadily in his Scheme of using the Power and Industry of the Dutch, to interrupt the Trade, and lessen the Maritime Force of England. With this View also, a Negotiation was begun between that Crown and the States of Holland, for dividing the Spanish Netherlands between them; and under Colour of thus assisting them, in Support of their Pretensions to an equal Right over the Sea, and in promoting their Trade, to the Prejudice of ours, Richlieu carried on secretly and securely, his darling Project of raising a Naval Force in France, to surther which, he spared not either for Pains or Expence, procuring from all Parts the ablest Persons in all Arts and Sciences relating to Navigation, and fixing them in

b The Title of this Book runs thus, Mare liberum; seu, de Jure quod Batavis competit ad Indica Commercia: Lug. Bat. Elzevir. 1609. 8vo. reprinted about this Time. Selden's Title is short and plain, Mare clausum; seu, de Dominio Maris, lib. 2. Londini, 1635. fol. See Clarendon, Rushworth, Frankland, Whitlock, Warwick.

the French Service by great Encouragements. Our King formed a just Idea of his Delign, and faw thoroughly into its Confequences, which he endeavoured to prevent, by publishing Proclamations for restraining Shipwrights, and other Artificers from entering into foreign Service; for afferting his Title to the Sovereignty of the Sea, and for regulating the manner of wearing Flags at Sea . If to these Precautions he had joined a reasonable Condescension to the Temper of his Subjects, in dismissing from his Service fuch as were obnoxious to them, either through their Actions, or Behaviour, and had thereby fixed them and their Representatives firmly in his Interest, without doubt he had gained his Point, and carried the glory of this Nation higher than any of his Predecessors. But his want of Skill in the Art of gaining the Nations Affections, and, to speak without Reserve, that Want of true Public Spirit in some who were now esteemed Patriots by the People, prevented the Effects of the King's laudable Intentions, and turned what he meant for a Cordial, into a corrolive Poison. I am far from affecting an Allegorical Stile; but there are some Things of so nice a Nature, and the Tempers of Men are in some Seasons so strangely turned, that it is not either expedient for them to hear, or for the Historian to tell even Truth too bluntly. Yet it is equally dangerous, on the other Hand, for one who undertakes such a Talk as this, to be afraid of delivering his Sentiments freely, even supposing his Fears to flow from an Apprehension of injuring, what he thinks it his Duty to recommend. Under a strong Sense therefore of that in one Respect it becomes me to say, for the Service of my Country, and what in regard to the Opinions of very great Men, who have thought in another Way, it is unfit for me to shew myself positive, I come now to speak of Ship Money, a Subject equally tender a hundred Years ago, and at prefent f.

THE Apprehensions which the King had entertained of this new League between the French and Dutch, were so heightened in the Year 1635, by the Junction of the Fleets of those two Powers, and the Intelligence he had, that France was shortly to declare War against Spain, and from thence to derive Occasion to divide the Netherlands, between themselves and their new Allies, all whose Pretensions in respect to the Right of Fishing in, and using the Seas, they had undertaken to sup-

e Kennet's Compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 74. f Compare our modern Histories with those written near those Times.

port, that he resolved to be no longer passive s. In order to defeat this Defign, and maintain the Sovereignty annexed to the English Crown, as well as the Nation's Credit, as a Maritime Power, the King faw that it was necessary to equip and put to Sea a superior Naval Force. This it seemed hard to do. without the Affistance of a Parliament; and yet the Delays in granting Supplies had been fo great in former Parliaments, that his Majesty was very doubtful of succeeding, if for this he trusted to a Parliamentary Supply. His Lawyers, knowing both the Nature of the Case, and his Distress, suggested to him, that upon this Occasion he might have Recourse to his Prerogative; which Opinion having been approved of by the Judges, he thereupon directed Writs to be iffued, for the levying of Ship-Money. These Writs were, for the Present, directed to Sea-Ports, and fuch Places as were near the Coast, requiring them to furnish a certain Number of Ships, or to grant the King an Aid equivalent thereto. The City of London was directed to provide feven Ships for twenty-fix Days, and other Places in Proportion. To make the Nation the more easy under this Tax, the King directed, that the Money raised thereby, should be kept a-part in the Exchequer, and that a distinct Account should be given of the Services to which it was applied. But in spite of these Precautions, the People murmured grievously; which, however, did not hinder this Project from being carried into Execution h.

WITH the Help of this Money, the King in the Month of May, 1635, fitted out a Fleet of 40 Sail, under the Command of Robert Earl of Lindsey, who was Admiral, Sir William Monson, Vice-Admiral, Sir John Pennington, Rear-Admiral; as also another of 20 Sail, under the Earl of Esfex. The first of these Fleets sailed from Tilbury-Hope on the 26th of May. Their Instructions were to give no Occasion of Hostility, and to fuffer nothing which might prejudice the Rights of the King and Kingdom. The French and Dutch Fleets joined off Portland, the last of this Month, and made no Scruple of giving out, that they intended to affert their own Independency, and to question that Prerogative which the English claimed in the narrow Seas; but as foon as they were informed that the English Fleet was at Sea, and in Search of them, they quitted our Coaft, and repaired to their own. Our Admiral fent a Bark upon the Coast of Britany, to take a View of them, and from the Time of the Return of this Bark, to the 1st of October, this Fleet protected

Sir William Monfon's Naval Tracts, p. 289. Frankland's Annals, p. 468. h Kennet's Compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 81. Sir Philip Warwick's Memotrs, Sir William Monfon's Naval Tracts, Whitlock's Memorial, &c.

tected their own Seas and Shores, gave Laws to the neighbouring Nations, and effectually afferted that Sovereignty which the Monarchs of this Kingdom have ever claimed. The good Effect of this Armament, and the Reputation we gained thereby Abroad, in some Measure, quieted the Minds of the People, as it convinced them, that this was not an Invention to bring Money into the Exchequer, without Respect had to the End for which it was raised 1.

THE King, perfectly fatisfied with what had been done this Year, and yet well knowing that it would fignify little if another and that at least as good a Fleet was not to set out the next. had Recourse again to his Writs for levying of Ship-Money; but now the Aid was made more extensive. What was before rated as a particular Provision, to be raised by the respective Ports for their own immediate Safety, was now converted into a National Tax, and so became the more grievous for want of Authority of Parliament. The Burden indeed in itself was far from being preffing; at the utmost it did not amount to above 236,000 L per Annum, which was not quite 20,000 l. a Month throughout the whole Kingdom; yet the making it an Universal Aid, and the affeffing and collecting it in the Parliamentary Methods. gave it an Air of Oppression, and made it extremely odious; though the Necessity was far from being dissembled, and the Benefits resulting from the Care taken of the Narrow Seas, which had afforded Matter of Enquiry, and Expostulation to every Parliament the King had called, could not be denied k. In 1636, the King fent a Fleet of fixty Sail to Sea, under the Command of the Earl of Northumberland Admiral, Sir John Pennington Vice-Admiral, and Sir Henry Marom Rear-Admiral. They failed first to the Downs, and from thence to the North, where the Dutch Buffes were fishing upon our Coast. The Admiral required them to forbear, which they not feeming difposed to do, he fired upon them; this put them into great Confusion, and obliged them to have Recourse to other The Dutch, therefore, applied themselves to the Earl of Northumberland, defired him to mediate with the King, that they might have leave to go on with their Fishing this Year, for which they were content to pay 30,000 l. and expressed also a Willingness to obtain a Grant from the King, for

i We have a clear and full Account of this Expedition written by Sir William Monson himself, who was an Eye-Witness, and a proper Judge of such Matters, in his Naval Tracts, p. 289. k Kennet's Compleat H story of England, vol. iii. p. 81. Sir Phil. Warwick's Memoirs, Frankland's Annals, Whitlock's Memorial, &c.

for his Permiffion of their Veffels to fish there, for the Time to

come, paying an annual Tribute 1.

THE King meant to have continued both this Method of raifing Money, and of fitting out Fleets annually, and by giving several young Noblemen Commands at Sea, to have rendered them the more capable of ferving their Country in Times of greater Danger "; but he quickly found this impracticable. The Nation grew fo diffatisfied with this Method of raising Money: and the great Case of Mr. Hampden, made it so clear, that a constant and regular levying of this Tax, was dangerous to the Constitution, and to the Freedom of the Subject, that the King was obliged to lay afide this Scheme, and to content himfelf with using all the Methods that could be thought of to awaken the People's Attention in regard to the Sovereignty of the Sea .. With this View, his Majesty made an Order in Council, that a Copy of Mr. Selden's Book upon that Subject, should be kept in the Council-Cheft, that another Copy should be deposited in the Court of Exchequer, and a third in the Court of Admiralty. there to remain as perpetual Evidence of our just Claim to the Dominion of the Seas o. Happy had it been if the King had at this Time called a Parliament, and after excusing the Manner in which the Money was levied, had shewn how well it was applied, how effectually our Navigation had been protected, and all the Deligns of the French and Dutch defeated; for it may be then prefumed, that the Parliament would have provided in a legal Manner, for the Maintenance of these Fleets, which must have been of infinite Advantage in respect to the Trade of this Kingdom.

NOTHING of Consequence occurs in regard to Naval Affairs till the Year 1639, when the Spaniards fitted out a powerful Fleet, consisting of fixty-seven Sail of large Ships, manned with 25000 Seamen, and having on Board 12000 Land Forces, designed for the Relief of Flanders. The Dutch had two or three Squadrons at Sea, the Spanish Fleet coming up the Channel, was met in the Streights of Dover by one of them, consisting of seventeen Sail, under the Command of Herpert Van Tromp, who, notwithstanding the Enemy's great Superiority, attacked them; but finding himself too weak, was obliged to sheer off towards Dunkirk, where being joined by other Squadrons, he so roughly

handled

¹ Kennet's Compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 84. ^m Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 299. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 53. ⁿ Rushworth's Collections, Frankland's Annals, Clarendon's History, Whitlock's Memorials. • See the Order of Council, in Frankland's Annals, p. 476.

handled the Spanish Fleet, under the Command of Don Antonio de Oquendo, that at last he forced them on the English Coast near Dover. Tromp, finding himself in want of Powder and Ball, stood away for Calais, where he was liberally supplied by the Governor, and then returned to attack the Enemy. Upon his Approach the Spaniards got within the South-Foreland, and put themselves under the Protection of our Castles. Things being in this Situation, the Spanish Resident importuned King Charles, that he would oblige the Dutch to forbear Hostilities for two Tides, that the Spaniards might have an Opportunity of bearing away for their own Coast; but the King being in Amity with both Powers, was resolved to stand Neuter: and whereas the Spaniards had hired some English Ships to transport their Soldiers to Dunkirk, upon Complaint made thereof by the Dutch Ambaffadors, ftrict Orders were given, that no Ships or Veffels belonging to his Majesty's Subjects, should take any Spaniard on

Board, or pass below Gravefend without Licence.

HOWEVER, after much plotting and counterplotting, on both Sides, the Spaniard at length outwitted his Enemy, and found Means by a Stratagem in the Night, to convey away through the Downs, round by the North Sand Head, and the Back of the Godwin, twelve large Ships to Dunkirk, and in them 4000 Men. In Excuse of this gross Neglect of the Dutch Admirals, in leaving that Avenue from the Downs unguarded, they fay they were affured by the English, that no Ships of any confiderable Burden could venture by Night to fail that Way. The two Fleets had now continued in their Stations near three Weeks, when King Charles sent the Earl of Arundel to the Admiral of Spain, to defire him to retreat upon the first fair Wind; but by this Time the Dutch Fleet was by continual Reinforcements from Zealand and Holland, increased to a hundred Sail, and seeming disposed to attack their Enemies, Sir John Pennington Admiral of his Majesty's Fleet, who lay in the Downs with thirty-four Men of War, acquainted the Dutch Admiral, that he had received Orders to act in Defence of either of the two Parties, which should be first attacked. The Spaniards, however, growing too prefumptuous on the Protection they enjoyed, a Day or two after fired some Shot at Van Tromp's Barge, when he himself was in her, and killed a Man with a Cannon-Ball on board of a Dutch Ship, whose dead Body was presently sent on Board Sir John Pennington, as a Proof that the Spaniards were the first Aggressors, and had violated the Neutrality of the King of England's Harbour. Soon after this the Dutch Admiral came to a Resolution of attacking the Spaniards; but before he put it in Execution, he thought fit to write to Admiral Pennington, telling telling him, that the Spaniards having infringed the Liberties of the King of England's Harbour, and become the Aggressors, he found himself obliged to retaliate Force with Force, and attack them, in which, pursuant to the Declaration he had made to him, he not only hoped for, but depended on his Assistance, which, however, if he should not please to grant, he prayed the Favour, that he would at least give him Leave to engage the Enemy, otherwise he should have just Cause of Com-

plaint to all the World, of fo manifest an Injury.

This Letter being delivered to the English Admiral, Van Tremp bore up to the Spaniards, in fix Divisions, and charged them so furiously with his Broad-sides, and his Fire-ships, as forced them all to cut their Cables, and being fifty-three in Number, twenty-three ran ashore, and stranded in the Downs, whereof three were burnt, two funk, and two perished on the Shore: one of which was a great Galleon (the Vice-Admiral of Galicia) commanded by Antonio de Castro, and mounted with fifty-two Brass Guns. The Remainder of the twenty-three which were franded and deferted by the Spaniards, were manned by the English, to fave them from the Dutch. The other thirty Spanish Ships, with Don Antonio de Oquendo, the Commander in chief, and Lopez, Admiral of Portugal, got out to Sea, and kept in good Order, till a thick Fog arising, the Dutch took Advantage thereof, interposed between the Admirals and their Fleet, and fought them valiantly till the Fog cleared up, when The Admiral of Portugal began to flame, being fired by two Dutch Ships fitted for that Purpole. Oquendo perceiving this, present ly stood away for Dunkirk, with The Admiral of that Place. and some few Ships more; for, of these thirty, five were sunk in the Fight, eleven taken and fent into Holland, three perished upon the Coast of France, one near Dover, and only ten escaped. The first Hostility committed by the Spaniards was a Plea the Dutch made Use of in their Justification to us; and, at the fame Time a fufficient Argument to defend the Conduct of the English Government, which otherwise would have appeared repugnant to the Laws of Nations, in suffering one Friend to destroy another within its Chambers 4.

It may not be amiss to observe, that in Reality the People in general were not forry for this Missfortune which befel the Spaniards, though the Court took all the Care imaginable to prevent it: and the Reason was, that some surmised this to be a new Spanish Armada, fitted out nominally against the Dutch; but in Truth, intended to act against Heretics in general. At first Sight this may appear a wild and extravagant Suggestion: but perhaps, the Reader will change his Opinion, when he is told,

" the

that in the next Parliament, there really appeared some kind of Proof of it; a Popish Book being produced, in which, among other superstitious Things, were Prayers for the holy Martyrs, who perished in the Fleet sent against the Heretics in England. However it was, the bare Report undoubtedly was more than sufficient to alarm the Populace, and revive their Resentments against the Spaniards. Some of our own Writers have affected to represent the Conduct of the Dutch as derogatory on this Occasion from our Sovereignty of the Sea, but Foreigners, who are the best Judges in such Cases intimate nothing of this kind sthough it must be allowed, our Affairs were then in such Confusion, that it is very doubtful whether his Majesty could have properly resented any Indignity in Case they had offered it.

I HAD like to have flipped over, as I think all our Writers of Naval History have done, the Expedition of the Marquis of Hamilton against the Scots, which was undertaken this Year; and indeed there is very little in it worth mentioning, except to shew how difficult it is to come at Truth in relation to these Affairs. Bishop Burnet, in his Memoirs of the Hamilton Family, has given us a very plaufible Account of this Matter. He fays, the Duke embarked at Yarmouth about the middle of April 1639; that he had with him about 5000 Men, among whom there were not above 200 that knew how to fire a Gun: but he does not fay what Number of Ships he had, or of what Burden; only, that the Troops were transported in Colliers, and arrived in the Frith of Forth the first of May. There he continued for fome Time, treating with the Scots to little or no Purpose, till the Season being lost, he returned without effecting any Things. Another Gentleman, who lived in those Times, and seems to have known as much of them, gives a quite different Detail; which, as it is very short, may not be unworthy of the Reader's Notice. " Hamilton was to be a diffinct General both by Sea " and Land, and with a good Fleet was to block up the Scots " Seas; nay, to my Knowledge, he promifed so to visit his "Countrymen on their Coasts, as that they should find little 66 Ease or Security in their Habitations. For he had three good " English Regiments on board him: but the very Choice of his "Ships shewed he had more mind to make War upon the

"King's Treasure, than on his own Country or Countrymen: for he had chosen some of the second and third Rate; whereas

Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. p. 374. Prynne's Royal Favourite, p. 59. Fiery Jesuits, a Quarto Pamphlet, printed in 1667. p. 118. See Nani's History of Venice, Book xi. p. 472, 473. Memoirs of James and William Dukes of Hamilton, p. 121,—139.

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the least Frigates would have done the greatest Service: thus by the very Bulk of his Ships obliging himself to an Inactivi-"ty. One might well have expected that he that had fo or prodigally, as a Commissioner, lavished his Majesty's Ho-" nour, and unhinged the Government, would have vigorously employed those Forces under his Command to have restored 66 both, and that a Man of his Importance would have found " fome Party ready to have countenanced and affifted him: but instead thereof, when he comes and anchors in the Frith, " his Mother (a violent-spirited Lady, and a deep Presbyteres) " comes on Board him; and furely she had no hard Task to 66 charm him. Afterwards the great Ships (like the great for-" midable Log, let down to be a King) lying still, he had see veral Visits from many of the great Men, who were most " active against the King: as if he had been rather returned " from an East-India Voyage, than come as a powerful Eneec my h."

THE Fleet was henceforward so entirely out of the King's Power, that I think the Naval History of this Reign ends properly here; and therefore, having already related, as fairly and impartially as I can, the several Expeditions undertaken by his Authority, I come now to mention the Progress of Trade, the Increase of Shipping, and the Encouragement of our Plantations,

during the same Space.

IT appears from Sir William Monson, and indeed from all the unprejudiced Writers of those Times, who were competent Judges of these Matters, that the Commerce of this Island increased exceedingly during the first fifteen Years of this King's Reign; infomuch that the Port of London only could have supplied a hundred Sail, capable of being converted eafily into Men of War, and well furnished with Ordnance i. The Trade to the East-Indies, which was but beginning in his Father's Time, became now very confiderable, and our Ships gave Law in those Parts to almost all foreign Nations. The Trade to Guinea became likewise of very considerable Benefit to the English Subjects; and our Intercourse with Spain, after the ending of the War, proved of infinite Advantage likewise k. It is true, there happened some considerable Disputes between the Government and the Merchants, about Customs, which some of the Ministers of the Crown thought to have depended immediately thereupon, and might be taken by Virtue of the Prerogative only; whereas others thought, as most of the Merchants themfelves

h Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 131, 132. Naval Tracts, p. 293. ld. ibid.

felves did, that nothing of this Kind could be levied but by the Consent of Parliament: but these very Disputes shew that Trade was in a flourishing Condition; for if the Customs had not risen to a considerable Height, beyond what they did in sormer Times, no Ministry would have run the Hazard of such a Contest. But the principal Source of our Naval Strength then, (as it has been ever since) was our Plantations, to the Encouragement and Augmentation of which, even those Accidents contributed which might have been otherwise satal to the Society; such as our Civil and Ecclesiastical Divisions which inclined Numbers of industrious and thinking People to prefer Liberty, and whatever they could raise in distant and hitherto uncultivated Lands, to the uneasy Situation in which they found themselves at Home.

THE Colony of Virginia had struggled under great Difficulties from the Time it fell under the Direction of a Company. till the King was pleased to take it into his own Hands; which he did very foon after his coming to the Crown, and then directed the Constitution of that Colony to be a Governor, Council, and Assembly, conformable to that of this Kingdom, and under which the Colony quickly began to flourish. But this happy Situation of Affairs did not last long : Sir John Harvey, whom the King had made Governor, did so many illegal and gross Actions, that the Colony being at length no longer able to endure him, caused him to be seized and sent home as a Prifoner in 1639. This Behaviour the King exceedingly refented, and therefore, fent him back to his Government, without so much as hearing the Complaints that were fent against him. But this was with a View only to support the Dignity of the Crown; for very foon after Sir William Berkley was fent over to succeed him, who proved as good a Governor as ever this Colony had ". That of New-England had its Name bestowed by his Majesty when Prince, and was better settled in King James's Time than any other of our Colonies, and throughout the whole Reign of King Charles the first, was constantly supplied with large Draughts of People; fo that by Degrees it was divided into four Governments, under which it is supposed there might be near 25,000 Inhabitants, whence it appeared the Trade carried on between this Colony and its Mother Country, must have been very confiderable even in this Period ..

F 2 THE

Rushworth's Collections, Frankland's Annals, Clarendon, Whitlock, &c. Mr. Neale in his History of the Puritans observes, that Archbishop Laud drove thousands of Families to New-England, by the Severities he exercised here. The British Empire in America, vol. i. p. 372. Ibid. p. 79.

The Papists in England, finding themselves liable to many Severities, and being very apprehensive of more and greater falling upon them, were desirous of having an Asylum in the new World as well as other Nonconformists; and this gave Rise to the planting of Maryland, a Country hitherto accounted Part of Virginia, between 37 and 40 of N. L. which was granted by King Charles, the twentieth of June 1632, to the Ancestor of the present Lord Baltimore, and derived its Name of Maryland, from Queen Henrietta-Maria. It was more easily and more successfully planted than any former Colony had been, and the Hon. Mr. Leonard Calvert, Brother to the Lord Proprietor, was the first Governor, and continued to exercise his Authority, till that of the Crown grew too feeble to protect him; and then the Parliament sent over a Governor of their own?

THE Summer-Islands which were planted in the last Reign, and settled under a regular Government in the Year 1619, sourished exceedingly, the Country being extremely pleasant and fruitful, and the Air much more wholesome than in any other Part of America a. As for the Island of Barbadoes, which had been planted about the beginning of the King's Reign, it was quickly granted to the Earl of Carlisle, who gave such Encouragement to all who were inclined to go thither, and most of those who went became so speedily rich, that it was quickly well peopled, and, even within this Period, was esteemed the most populous of our Plantations. The Islands of St. Christopher and Nevis were also settled about this Time. I am now to take Notice of such Seamen as slourished within the Compass of this Reign, and have not hitherto been particularly ementioned.

AMONGST these Sir Robert Mansel claims the first Place, though the Memoirs we have of him, are far from being so sull as might be wished. He was descended from a very ancient, and now noble Family in Glamorganshire, being the third Son of Sir Edward Mansel, Knight, by his Wife the Lady Jane, Daughter to Henry Earl of Worcester. He addicted himself early to the Sea, and under the Patronage of the samous Lord Howard of Essingham, Lord High-Admiral of England, came to be a considerable Officer in the Fleet, and in the Cadiz-Expedition received the Honour of Knighthood from the Earl of Essex, who thence forward received him into his special Fa-

vour

p The British Empire in America. vol. ii. p. 323. Ibid. vol. ii. p. 446. Ibid. p. 3. Collins's Peerage of England, vol. iv p 270. Camden's Annals, p. 726.

vour; and in the Island-Voyage, he was Captain of the Admiral's own Ship ". Upon his Return he adhered to his old Patron the Earl of Nottingham, and so remained in Queen Elizabeth's Favour during all her Reign, in which he was often employed at Sea, especially in the Defence of the Coast, and in this Service was remarkably successful ". On the Accession of King James he was continued in his Post of Vice-Admiral, to which he had been raised by the Interest of the Earl of Nottingham, and remained in Favour for feveral Years. When the Lord High-Admiral's Enemies had so far alienated his Majesty's Affections as to procure a Commission for reforming Abuses in the Navy (which was equally detrimental to his Reputation and Authority) Sir Robert Mansel chose rather to adhere to his Friend, than to make Court at his Expence, and with this View advised his Lordship not to submit to this Commisfion, for which Sir Robert Mansel was committed Prisoner to the Marshalsea, and continued there some Months, in the Year 1613 x. In Consequence of this Enquiry many Abuses were really discovered and corrected; so that 25,000 l. a Year were soon after faved to the Crown 7; from a just Sense of which, Sir Robert advised his Patron to refign his high Office, perceiving that he began to outlive his Abilities, and that his longer Continuance therein might be prejudicial both to the Public and himself.

To prevent the Navy from receiving any Prejudice by the Earl of Nottingham's Refignation, Sir Robert Mansel applied himself to the Duke of Buckingham, whom he advised to obtain that Office; and when he excused himself on Account of his Youth and want of Experience, told him plainly, why he thought him sittest for the Place. He observed, that in Time of Peace the best Service that could be done was to repair the Navy, and to rebuild such Ships as wanted it; and that by applying himself assiduously to the Duty of his Office, he might acquire all the Knowledge that was necessary, before any War should call him into Action. Thus the Duke was brought into the Office of High-Admiral by the Persuasion of Sir Robert Mansel, and upon very just Motives: neither was it at all to the Prejudice of his old Master; for the Earl of Nottingham

" Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 189. "See Stowe's Annals, Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, &c. "Windwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 460. "This is affirmed by King James in his Speech to his Parliament, A. D. 1620, in Frankland's Annals, P. 49.

Present to the Countess of Nottingham of 3000 l. This Transaction happened in 1616, and in Consequence thereof, Sir Robert Mansel was made Vice-Admiral for Life. The Duke by his Advice did another Thing, which was very commendable. He procured a Commission to be granted to several able and experienced Persons for the Management of the Navy, which had very good Effects: nay, there is great Reason to believe, considering the great Consustant into which Things afterwards fell, that the Fleet, if it had not been for this Commission, would have been absolutely ruined; whereas, by the Help of it, it was so well preserved, that Buckingham upon his Impeachment acquitted himself better in what related thereto, than in Regard to

any other Article 2.

IN 1620, Sir Robert Mansel commanded the Fleet fitted out against the Pyrates of Algiers, of which we have given an impartial Account in its proper Place . However unfortunate he was in the Management of that Expedition, yet there feems to be no Reason to apprehend he was in any great Fault. It is admitted, that he advised it from a generous and public-spirited Motive, the Defire of raifing the English Reputation at Sea, and and freeing our Trade from the Infults of these Rovers : but it feems he was fent abroad with so limited a Commission, and had so many raw and unexperienced Officers employed in the Fleet through the Favour of eminent Courtiers, that from these and other crofs Accidents, he was disabled from performing what he intended, though he did all that was in his Power, and is on that Account commended by the most knowing Writers of those Times b. This unlucky Affair, however, and perhaps his declining in the Favour of the Duke of Buckingham, hindered him from being employed in the Reign of King Charles; and the very Neglect of him is mentioned as one of the Errors therein . He continued not withstanding, in Possession of his Office of Vice-Admiral, and lived till after the breaking out of the Civil Wars, when he died with the Reputation of being a great Seaman, and a Person of unblemished Integrity; leaving, so far as I have been able to learn, no Issue d.

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² See all these Facts related in the Duke of Buckingham's Answer to the First Article of his Impeachment in Frankland's Annals, p. 188. ^a See before, p. 17. ^b See an Account of this Expedition, printed by Authority in 1621, 4to. Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 34. Frankland's Annals, p. 55. ^c Burchet's Naval History, p. 370. ^d The English Baronetage, vol. i. p. 489.

In the Course of this Work Sir William Monson has frequently been mentioned as an Admiral, and full as often cited as an Author; we shall now take Occasion to throw together such Particulars as relate to him, and which are scattered in a variety of Books, in order to preserve, as entire as may be, the Memory of so worthy a Person, and of the principal Actions by him atchieved; some of which he has also left us recorded by his own Pen.

THE Family of Monfon has been long fettled in Lincolnshire, of which this Gentleman was an Native . He was the fourth Son of John Monson, Esq; by Mary Daughter of Sir Robert Huffey, and was born about the Year 1569 f. He went very early to Sea, as himself informs us, about the beginning of the Spanish Wars, and in the Condition only of a private Man; his Wages according to the Frugality of that Time, being no more than 10 s. a Month; from whence he was gradually advanced to the great Commands he afterwards bore. His first Voyage was in the Year 1585, in which he engaged without the Knowledge either of his Father or Mother, and wherein he faw the sharpest Service he met with throughout his Life. He was on board a Privateer, which was but a small Veffel, and in Confort with another still smaller. They sailed from the Isle of Wight in the Month of September, and soon after came up with a flout Spanish Ship of 300 Tons, well The Crew, however, of the two Privateers resolved to board her, which they did towards Evening; but the Wind growing high, and the Night dark, their Veffels fell off, and they were left on board the Spaniards. The Fight continued all Night, with Variety of Success; but at last, about feven in the Morning, the Spaniards syielded. In 1587, he had the Command of a Ship, and was employed afterwards throughout the whole Reign of the Queen.

In the Year 1589, he served as Vice-Admiral in the Earl of Cumberland's Fleet, and did excellent Service; but withal endured such Hardships as brought upon him a Fit of Sickness, which detained him in England a whole Year h. In 1591, he served again under the Command of the Earl of Cumberland, when he had the Missortune to be taken by the Spaniards, and remained a Prisoner near two Years 1. This did not discourage him from acting under the Earl again, as soon almost as he had recoved his Liberty, in the Year 1593 k. In the famous

Collins's Peerage of England, vol. iv. p. 342.

Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 505.

Bibid. p. 246.

Lidd. p. 181.

mous Expedition to Cadiz, in Year 1596, he was Captain of The Repulse, the Earl of Essex's own Ship, to whom he did great Service, by his wife and moderate Counfel, and was, therefore very deservedly knighted 1. In the Island-Voyage he commanded the Rainbow; and if the Earl of Effex had then followed the Informations he gave him, he had certainly taken most of the Spanish Galleons m. In 1500, he had the Command of The Defiance, in the Downs, and in 1602, being Vice-Admiral, he had the good luck to take a great Carrack of 1600 Tons, which with its Cargo was worth a Million of Pieces of Eight a. In 1602 he was at Sea again, and had the Command of a Squadron, in which, though he performed no great Service, yet he brought it home safely through many Perils o. I have not gone into the Particulars of these Services, because they have been all of them treated at large in the former Volume, and with due Respect to the Accounts given of them by this Gentleman, in his Writings; so that to have entered into the Circumstances of them here, would have involved us in needless Repetitions.

At the Accession of King James, no Seaman appeared to have a fairer Title to his Favour than Sir William Monson, whose Attachment to his Interest had engaged the Lords of the Privy-Council to place an extraordinary Confidence in his Management of the Fleet, of which we have before taken Notice P. It does not, however, appear, that Sir William throughout the Course of that Reign, received any extraordinary Gratifications, but rather the contrary. He had the Charge of the Narrow Seas for twelve Years, that is, from the beginning of the Year 1604, to the Year 1616, in which Time he did remarkable Service 9, in supporting the Honour of the English Flag against the Encroachments of the Dutch and French, and in his remarkable Voyage round Great-Britain and Ireland, to scour the Seas of Pyrates, of which likewise we have given an Account in its pro-

per Place .

AFTER so many and so great Services rendered to the Crown, and so many Years spent in Duty to his Country, Sir William had the Missortune to fall into Disgrace, and to find all that he had done, and all that he had advised, which perhaps was of no less Consequence, misunderstood, and turned to his Disadvantage. As this is the most remarkable Part of his personal History, so it

Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 184.

Monson's Naval History of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i.

Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 198.

Naval History of King James in this vol. p. 9.

Jibid. 12—16.

Jibid. p. 16.

feems to deserve our and the Reader's Attention on another Account, I mean the Relation it has to the State of Maritime Affairs in those Days; and, therefore, I shall give as clear and concile a Detail thereof as I can. It is a very dangerous Thing either to offend the Great, or to incur the Dislike of the Many. Sir William Monfon was so unlucky to run into both these Misfortunes; the former he incurred through a Defire of ferving his Country, and the latter by his Zeal in discharging his Duty on a ticklish Occasion. His great Knowledge of Maritime Affairs, and the Confidence which the Seamen had in him, brought to his View most of the Grievances in the Navy, which he honeftly laboured to redrefs. This gave Rife to a Commiffion for that Purpose, which has been often mentioned, and that Commission gave great Distaste to the Earl of Nottingham, then Lord High Admiral, and to those who under him had the chief Management of the Fleet. It went on notwithstanding, a great Reformation was made, and the King faved abundance of Money in this Article; which, however, did not lessen the Spleen conceived against Sir William Monson, for having set this Defign on Foot's. The other Accident which hurt him with the People was this: The Lady Arbella having made her Efcape, Orders were fent to Sir William Monson, to prevent, if possible, her getting either into France or Flanders; and though he did not receive these Orders till twenty-four Hours after her Departure, yet he executed them effectually, and re-took her in a Bark bound for Calais, within four Miles of that Place t. This was the fame Lady concerning whom so much Noise had been made in the Business of Sir Walter Raleigh's Plot; and as the was a great Object of popular Pity, fo upon this Occasion many strange Stories were circulated, which served to raise an Odium on him for re-taking her; tho' it was his Duty, and what the Court ought to have looked upon as an important Service ". The Dutch too, who were angry with him for his Conduct in the narrow Seas, found Means to do him ill Offices; so that upon some very slight Pretences he was committed close Prisoner to the Tower, in 1616 ": but after he had been examined by the Chief

Rushworth's Collections, Frankland's Annals, Lediard's Naval History.

Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 280. This Lady is in most of our Historians called the Lady Arabella, but in the Proclamation published upon her Flight, and which is extant in Rymer's Fædera, vol. xvi. p. 710. she is stilled the Lady Arbella, and so she wrote her Name.

Bee the Introduction to the second Book of his Naval Tracts.

Camden's Annals of King James, in Kennet's Compleat History of England, vol. ii. p. 646.

Chief Justice Coke and Secretary Winwood, he was discharged; and he afterwards wrote a large Vindication of his Conduct,

while Admiral in the narrow Seas.

HE very foon recovered his Credit; for in 1617, we find him called to Council, in order to give his Opinion how the Algerines might be best reduced . In the succeeding Reign, which is that we are now speaking of, he had likewise a great Interest, and his Advice was asked in all Maritime Affairs; but as he differed in Opinion from those who were then in Poffesfion of Power and Favour, and as he censured the Expedition to Rhie, and that against Cadiz, we need not wonder that he was not employed y. Yet in 1635, when the King came to better Notions of Things, and to be truly concerned for his Sovereignty of the Seas, Sir William Monfon was appointed Vice-Admiral of the Sea, commanded by the Earl of Lindsey; which effectually vindicated the King's Honour, and the Rights of the Nation 2. After this he spent his Days in Privacy and Peace, and about the Year 1640 a, composed that Work of his of which we have made so great Use, and of which, considering its Subject. I think it cannot be amiss to give a short Account.

IT is divided into fix Books, all on different Subjects, and yet all equally curious and instructive. The first Book is, for the most part, a Collection of every Years Actions in the Wars against Spain, on our own and the Spanish Coasts, and in the West-Indies: A brief Narrative, for no more is said, but the Force they were undertaken with, and the Success of the Enterprize: yet the Defign is to shew the Reasons, either why they miscarried, or why so little Advantage was made where they fucceeded. In some he is more particular than in others; and, what perhaps may be still of Use, he at last sets down the Abuses in the Fleet, and the Methods for redressing them. His second Book continues somewhat of the Method of the first, beginning with fatherly Instructions to his Son; whence he proceeds to the Peace with Spain, which puts an end to the Warlike Naval Actions, yet not to his Command, being employed against Pyrates. He inveighs against the Dutch, shews the ill Management of a Delign against Algiers, and makes very curious Remarks on the Attempt upon Cadiz, by King Charles I. proposing Methods how Spain might have been much more endangered; with other Particulars about the Shipping of England, and Sovereignty of the Seas. The third Book only treats of the Admiralty; that is, of all Things relating to the Royal Navy,

from

⁼ Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 250. y Ibid. p. 258;

from the Lord High-Admiral to the meanest Person employed ashore, and to the Cabin-Boys at Sea; and from a compleat Fleet to the smallest Vessel; and Part of it; with Instructions for all Officers, the Size of all Sorts of Guns, all Kinds of Allowances on board the King's Ships, and excellent Directions for fighting at Sea; an Account of all the Harbours in these three Kingdoms, with many more curious Matters accurately handled. The fourth Book is of a different Nature from any of the rest, being a brief Collection of Spanish and Portugueze Discoveries, and Conquests in Africa, Asia, and America; with fome Voyages round the World, and somewhat of English and French Plantations. The fifth Book is full of Projects and Schemes for managing Affairs at Sea to the best Advantage for the Nation. The fixth and last treats of Fishing, to shew the infinite Addition of Wealth and Strength it would bring to England; with fuch Instructions as are necessary for putting such a Design in Execution b.

THE writing and collecting these Pieces were the last Efforts of his Genius; for he died in the Month of February, 1642, being in the 73d Year of his Age, at Kynnersley, in Surry, the place he had chosen for his Retirement, and where he left a

numerous Posterity c.

As for Sir John Pennington, Sir Henry Marom, and some other Seamen who rose in this Reign to be Admirals, we meet with nothing relating to them of Importance enough to deserve the Attention of the Reader, or which can any Way tend to the enlightening this part of our History, and therefore, we shall conclude our Account of this Reign, with a List of the Ships added to the Royal Navy by King Charles I 4.

Ships.	Men in Harbour.	Men at Sea.	
Ten Whelps	3	60, fome 70	
The Henrietta P	innae 3	25	
The Mary Pinna	ce 3	25	
The Charles	9	250	
The Henrietta-N.	laria 9	250	
The James	ģ	260	
The Victory	9	250	
The Leopard	7	170	
The Swallow	6	150	
The Sovereign		CHA	P.

b These Tracts are printed in the 3d Volume of Churchill's Collection of Voyages. It is very plain from the Presaces and Dedications, that the Author intended them for the Press, though he did not live to publish them. Collins's Peerage of England, vol. iv. p. 342. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 277.

CHAP. III.

The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN from the breaking out of the Civil War to the Restoration of King Charles II. comprehending an Account of all the Struggles between King and Parliament for the Command of the Fleet, the Revolt of Part of it to the Prince of Wales, the Dutch War, the Disputes with France, the War with Spain; and the Memoirs of such famous Seamen as flourished within this Space of Time.

WHEN the Disputes between King Charles I. and his Parliament were grown to fuch a Height, that both Parties thought the shortest Method of deciding was to have Recourse to the Sword, it was natural for them to be extremely folicitous about the Fleet, for many Reasons; and for this particularly, that whoever was Mafter of that, would be confidered as the supreme Power by foreign Princes. The Earl of Northumberland was at this Time Lord High-Admiral: the King had given him that Commission to satisfy the House of Commons, who had a Confidence in him; and had granted it during Pleasure only, because his Intention was to confer that Office on his Son the Duke of York, as foon as he became of Age b. Sir Robert Mansel was Vice-Admiral of England; a Gentleman very loyal, but withal far in Years. Sir John Pennington was Vice-Admiral of the Fleet then in the Downs, and Sir John Mennes was Rear-Admiral; both well affected to his Majesty. The Parliament, however, having formed a Project of dispossessing the King of his Fleet, executed it successfully, notwithstanding these Circumstances so favourable for his Majesty, and tho' he had the Affections of the Seamen, whose Wages he had raised, and for whom he had always shewn a particular Esteem c. This was one of the most extraordinary Things they did, was of the utmost Consequence to their Affairs, and therefore we shall give a short and impartial Account of the Steps they took to accomplish it.

IN

² Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 217. Whitlocke's Memorials, Echard, Rapin, &c. ^b Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 157. the Oxford Edition in Folio, 1732. ^c Clarendon, ubi supra. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, Heath's Chronicle, Whitlock, Kennet, Echard, Rapin.

In the Spring of the Year 1641; the Parliament defired, that is in Effect directed, the Earl of Northumberland, to provide a strong Fleet for the Nation's Security by Sea, and appropriated a proper Fund for this Service. They next defired, that he would appoint the Earl of Warwick Admiral of that Fleet, on Account of his own Indisposition, which rendered it impossible for him to Command in Person 4. The King took this ill, and infifted on Sir John Pennington's keeping his Command: but the Earl had so much Respect to the Parliament's Recommendation. that he ordered the Fleet to be delivered up to the Earl of Warwick, and granted him a Commission, by his own as he had Power to do. This was one great Point gained. The Parliament then would have made Captain Carturight, Comptroller of the Navy, Vice-Admiral in the Room of Sir John Pennington; but he refusing to undertake this Service, without the King's Permission, his Majesty was pleased to signify his Pleasure, that he should decline it; which he did, and the Parliament thereupon appointed one Batten Vice-Admiral, who was remarkably disaffected towards the King; and their Orders being complied with, the Fleet, in the Spring of 1642, fell into their Hands, though the King was perfuaded in his Mind, that he could at any Time recover it, which was the true Reason of his not removing the Earl of Northumberland from his high Office. It was not long before he had good Reason to change his Opinion; for the Queen fending his Majesty a small Supply from Holland in The Providence, the only Ship the King had, the Ships from the Downs chased it into the Humber, and forced the Captain to run it ashore. Upon this the King resolved to attempt seizing the Fleet, and if the Defign had been executed as well as it was laid, might very probably have taken Effect; but through the Milmanagement of Sir John Pennington it milcarried, and served only to defeat the King's Hopes for the future, by affording the Earl of Warwick an Opportunity of removing all the King's Friends, which he had long wanted, and now made the most of f.

THE Parliament as they had shewn great Care and Industry in securing, so they shewed no less Wisdom in the Conduct of the Fleet, which they always kept in good Order and well paid. In 1643, Vice-Admiral Batten having Intelligence, that the Queen intended to go by Sea from Holland into the North of England,

d Clarendon, ubi supra. Hist. of the Revolutions in England, by Father d'Orleans, Warwick's Memoirs, Echard. e Clarendon's Hist. p. 158. Kennet, Rapin. f Clarendon's History, p. 220. Kennet, Echard, Rapin.

England, he did his utmost to intercept her, though on board a Dutch Man of War. This proving ineffectual, he chased the Ship into Burlington-Bay; and when the Queen was landed, having Intelligence that she lodged in a House upon the Quay, he fired upon it so, that many of the Shot went through her Chamber, and the was obliged, though very much indisposed, to retire for Shelter into the open Fields 5. This Service, which was performed in the Month of February, was very grateful to the Parliament, because it shewed how much the Officers of the Fleet at least, were in their Interest. In the Month of September, in the same Year, they sent their Orders to the Earl of Warwick, to attempt the Relief of Exeter, which he performed with great Zeal, but with indifferent Success; for failing up the River, which runs by the Walls of the Town, in Hopes of throwing Succour that Way into the Place, he found fome Works thrown up on the Shore, which hindered him from difturbing the Besiegers so much as he expected: and yet lying there too long with this View, the Tide falling, he was forced to leave three of his Ships behind him; two of which were taken, and the third burnt in his Presence . He did, however, great Service on the Coast of Devensbire, secured Plymouth and other Places, and, all the Time he commanded, kept the Fleet firm to the Parliament 1.

So long as the Presbyterian Party were uppermost, all Affairs relating to the Navy went on smoothly. The Earl of Warwick was entirely devoted to them, and so were all the Officers, by him appointed. Every Summer a flout Squadron was fitted out, to serve as Occasion required; and by this means the Trade of the Nation was protected k. But in the Year 1648, when the Independants came by their Intrigues to prevail, Things took a new Turn, and it was refolved to remove the Earl of Warwick, from his Command, notwithstanding the Services he had performed, and to make Colonel Rainsborough Admiral. This Gentleman had been bred a Seaman, and was the Son of a Commander of Distinction; but had for some Time served as an Officer in the Parliament-Army, and was then a Colonel of Foot. When this News came to the Fleet in the Downs, it put the Seamen into great Confusion, and their Officers, the Earl of Warwick and Vice-Admiral Batten, were so little pleased with the Usage they had met with, that instead of softening, they

ther d'Orleans's Hist. p. 283. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 237. Father d'Orleans's Hist. of the Revolutions in England, p. 66. h Clarendon's Hist. p. 346. Whitlock, Kennet, Echard, Rapin. Heath's Chronicle, Whitlock, Echard, Rapin.

they augmented their Discontents; infomuch, that they seized upon Rainsborough, and such Officers as adhered to him, set them on Shore, and refolved to fail over to Holland, in order to take on board the Duke of York, whom they called their Admiral; because the King's Intention of making him so, was a Thing generally known 1. Though the King was then a Prifoner, and his Affairs reduced to a very low Ebb, yet, if this Revolt of the Fleet had been properly managed, it might have had very happy Effects: but as it was conducted, it is scarce possible to conceive how little Advantage was drawn from an Accident which promifed so much. It is true, the Parliament upon the first Intimation of the growing Disaffection among the Seamen, had directed but half the usual Provisions to be put on board the Fleet. This might have been eafily remedied, confidering that Kent was in Arms for the King, and many of its Inhabitants went on board the Fleet, in order to do him all the Service they could. The great Misfortune was, that this strange Turn was entirely concerted by the Seamen; fo that when they declared for the King, they had very few Officers among them: and as they were little inclined to use the Advice of any who were not of their own Profession, there was a good deal of Time loft before they positively resolved what to do, which gave the Parliament an Opportunity of recovering themfelves from the Consternation into which this unexpected Event had thrown them; and the first Resolution they took was a very wife one, viz. the restoring the Earl of Warwick to his Title and Command, fending him Orders to draw together a Fleet as foon as possible m.

This Fleet, which at last sailed for Calais, consisted of seventeen good Ships; and for the present the Parliament had nothing near the same Force to oppose them. They lest a Ship riding before the Place last mentioned, to receive the Prince of Wales, and then sailed for Holland. Soon after, both the Prince and the Duke came on board, with many persons of Quality, who were now abroad with them in Exile. Instead of considering what Service the Fleet might best be employed in, those who were about the Princes sell into Intrigues for obtaining the Command, and the contending Parties silling the Seamens Heads with very different Stories, that Spirit of Loyalty

Clarendon's History, p. 528. Heath's Chronicle, p. 175. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 316. Father d'Orleans's History of the Revolutions in England, p. 116

Clarendon's History, p. 531. Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 102. Heath's Chronicle, p. 176.

Bates's History of the Troubles in England, p. 100.

was quickly extinguished, which had induced them to take this extraordinary Step . In the midft of these Disputes Admiral Batten came in with The Constant Warwick, one of the best Ships in the Parliament-Navy, and several Seamen of Note. The Prince of Wales upon this Occasion took a very wife Resolution: he knighted Batten, and made him Rear-Admiral, his Brother the Duke of York having before made the Lord Willoughby of Parham, who was also a new Convert from the Parliament-Party, Vice-Admiral P. As the Fleet confifted now of about twenty Sail, it was judged proper to enter upon Action. and two Schemes were proposed: the first was, to fail to the Ille of Wight, to rescue the King, which might certainly have been effected; the other, to enter the River of Thames, in order to awe the City of London, by interrupting their Trade; and to enfeeble the Parliament, by hindering their Supplies of Seamen from the outward-bound Ships: which Scheme was thought the most practicable, or perhaps the most profitable, and was

therefore immediately carried into Execution 4.

THE Success of this Enterprize was in the beginning very favourable; and on their coming into the Mouth of the River. the Prince's Fleet took abundance of rich Prizes, particularly a Ship laden with Cloth, bound for Rotterdam, worth 40,000 1. Soon after he entered into a Treaty with the City, which ended at last in a Composition for his Prizes. The Earl of Warwick in the mean while had fitted out a strong Fleet at Portsmouth, with which he came into the Downs, and anchored within Sight of the Prince. Great Endeavours were used on both Sides to draw over each other's Seamen, but to no great Purpose; at last, the Prince resolved to engage the Enemy, which he attempted, but was prevented by the shifting of the Wind, and then Provisions falling short, it was judged expedient to fail for the Coast of Holland, where the Fleet arrived fafely; but those who should have commanded them were divided in Opinion, and in fuch Confusion among themselves, that no new Course could be resolved on'. The Earl of Warwick, who suspected what would happen, and knew they could meet with no Supplies of Money to enable them to pay the Fleet, followed them in their Retreat, and fent to the States of

Clarendon's History, p. 530. Whitlock, Echard, Rapin. Heath's Chronicle, p. 176. Clarendon's History, p. 531. Warwick's Memoirs, Whitlock, Echard, Rapin. Clarendon's History, p. 536. Heath's Chronicle, p. 176. Columna Rostrata, p. 86. Whitlock, Rapin. Clarendon's History, p. 537.

Holland, requiring them to oblige certain Ships, which had revolted from the Parliament of England, to put to Sea.

THE States were very much embarraffed what to do in this critical Juncture: they were unwilling to break with the Parliament's Admiral; but on the other hand it would have been a Reproach to them, to have fuffered the Prince of Wales to be insulted on their Coasts, and in their Harbours. In the mean Time, both Parties, being excited by Hatred as well as Necessity to fight, it was difficult to prevent it : both Sides at first flattered themselves with the Hopes of a Victory, because both Sides were persuaded the Ships of their Antagonist would desert and come over to them. The first Step the States took, was to give Orders to the Admiralty of Rotterdam to fit out all the Ships they had, with all possible Expedition, and to fall down the River to prevent the two Fleets coming to an Engagement. In the mean Time they fent four Deputies on board the two Admirals, to beg of them in the Name of the States, not to undertake any Thing on their Coasts, and in the very Sight of their Harbours, which might affect the Sovereignty of their Re public.

THE Prince of Wales was the most tractable, because his Sailors, being badly paid, deserted; and even some of his Ships and Officers, which had so lately lest the Parliament to go over to him, lest him, and took Part with their old Masters again. He had only sourteen Ships lest, very poorly equipped, with which he retired under the Cannon of Helvoet, to avoid an En-

gagement or Infult, instead of offering any t.

THE Earl of Warwick began to talk now in a higher Strain, infifting that such as were on board this Fleet were Deserters, and ought to be given up to him; but at last, finding that there was little good to be done, he put to Sea, and returned home; after which the Fleet was put absolutely under the Command of Prince Rupert, who determined to carry on a pyratical War: and thus this extrordinary Accident, which properly managed might have been a Means of preserving the King and Kingdom, turned to no Advantage to the former, and proved of infinite Detriment to the latter, as it divided the Naval Force, and rendered precarious the Trade of the Nation, These Transactions happened between the latter End of July 1648, and the Close of the same Year, about which Time Prince Rupert lest the Dutch Coast, in order to repair to Ire land. In this Scheme he succeeded happily, taking many Prizes

^{&#}x27;Annales des Provinces Unies, par M. Basnage, vol. i. p. 139. Vol. II.

in his Passage, and arriving fafely at last in the Port of Kin-

fale ".

THE Parliament, however, had now recovered their Sovereignty at Sea, where they kept fuch strong Squadrons continually cruifing, that it was not thought adviseable for King Charles II. to venture his Person on that Element, in order to go to Ireland, where his Presence was necessary ". Yet the Earl of Warwick, who had ferved them so faithfully, and with such Success, was removed from the Command of the Fleet, which was put into the Hands of Land-Officers, fuch as Blake and Popham, who, notwithstanding, behaved well, quickly gained the Love of the Sailors, and grew in a short time able Seamen themselves x. As for Prince Rupert, he continued cruifing and making Prizes, throughout the greatest Part of the Year 1649, while the War continued hot in Ireland; but Things taking a new Turn there, entirely in the Parliament's Favour, Orders were given by the Parliament to their Admirals Blake and Popham, to block up the Prince's Squadron in the Port of Kinfale, which they accordingly did, and reduced them to fuch Extremities, that his Men began to defert in great Numbers; so that finding his Cafe desperate, the whole Kingdom of Ireland in a manner conquered, all Hopes of Succour loft, and very indifferent Terms to be hoped for from the Conquerors, he at last took a desperate Resolution of forcing a Passage through the Enemy's Fleet, which he effected on the twenty-fourth of October, with the Loss, however, of three Ships, and fo failed away to the Coast of France 2, where he continued to obstruct the English Trade, and to make Prize of fuch Ships as fell in his Way, acting entirely on his own Head, and without asking or receiving any Directions from the King.

PRINCE Rupert, after he had make his Escape, in the manner we have before related, out of the Harbour of Kinsale, resolved to sail into the Mediterranean; but with what other View than that of carrying on his old Trade of privateering, does not appear. When he came upon the Coast of Spain, his Fleet suffered exceedingly by a Storm, which drove five of his Fleet into the Port of Carthagena, where they were very ill treated by the Spaniards, who plundered two of the Ships, and compelled

Clarendon's History, p. 550. Bates's History, part, ii. p. 32. Whitlock, Echard, Rapin. Whitlock's Chronicle, p. 254. Columna Rostrata, p. 87. Clarendon's History, p. 595. Heath's Chronicle, p. 254. Bates's History, p. 32. Columna Rostrata, p. 87. Clarendon's History, p. 595. Columna Rostrata, p. 87.

pelled many of the Men to enter against their Will into their Service . A Fleet belonging to the Parliament, under the Command of Blake and Popham, arrived foon after at St. Andero, and wrote from thence a Letter in strong Terms to the King of Spain, demanding that both Ships and Men, in case any of Prince Rupert's were in his Power, should be delivered up; with Threats in case they were refused. To this a very civil Answer was given; and a Ring, worth 1500 l. was fent to the Admiral, as a Token of the King of Spain's Respect c. After this, Blake followed Prince Rupert into the River of Lifbon, where in the Months of September and October 1650, he ruined the Brazil Fleet, which induced the Portugueze to force Prince Rupert out of their Port, whence he failed to Carthagena. Blake pursued him thither; but being obliged for want of Provisions to put to Sea, his Highness escaped to Malaga, where he took feveral English Ships, till Blake came thither, and fell upon his small Squadron, which consisted now but of five Ships. One of these he drove ashore, burnt two more, and forced Prince Rupert himself to make his Escape thro' Spain d. His Highness foon after went to Sea again, cruized now on the spaniards and Genoese, as well as the English e, and having taken several rich Prizes, failed to the West-Indies, whither his Brother Prince Maurice, with a small Squadron, was gone before. In those Seas they did likewise a great deal of Mischief, till Prince Maurice in The Constant Reformation was cast away f; and Prince Rupert, finding the few Ships he had left fo leaky and rotten, that they were scarce able to keep the Sea, was glad to return to France; and arriving in the Port of Nantes in the Year 1652, with a Man of War, and three or four other Ships, he was forced to fell them to pay the People's Wages 8. Such was the End of about twenty-five good Ships well manned, which had deferted the Parliament Service! and the Reader will eafily judge, how great a Loss this was to the Nation, which was soon after engaged in the Dutch War.

ADMIRAL Blake on his Return to England was received with great Favour by the Parliament, had the Thanks of the House given him, and in Conjunction with Deane and Popham, had the supreme Power at Sea vested in him for the Year 1651 h. The G 2

Clarendon's History, p. 595. c Id. ibid. d Heath's Chronicle, p. 275, 276. Columna Rostrata, p. 88. Life of Blake. Bates's History of the Troubles, &c. Life of Prince Rupert. c Clarendon's History, p. 595. f Columna Rostrata, p. 88. Bates's History of the Troubles, p. 74. British Empire in America. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 652. Heath's Chronicle, p. 377-h Rushworth's Collections, Heath's Chronicle, Life of Blake.

first Exploit that his Masters thought of, was the Reduction of the Islands of Scilly, which were still held for the King by Sir John Greenville. The Privateers fitted out from thence did a great deal of Mischief to Trade, and, therefore, might well have deserved the Parliament's Notice; but there was another Incident which made them particularly uneasy at that Juncture; and this was the Arrival of a Dutch Squadron there, of twelve Men of War, commanded by Admiral Van Trompi. The Pretence of fending him was to demand Satisfaction of the Governor for about twenty Prizes, which in a short Space had been carried into his Ports by his Privateers: but the true Defign was to drive a Bargain with him, if possible, for those Islands; which might have had very bad Confequences had it been carried into Execution. Admiral Blake in the Phanix Frigate, in Conjunction with Sir George Ayscue, with a small Fleet, sailed thither in the Month of May, and very quickly performed what they were fent for, the Governor being glad to deliver up his Charge upon honourable Terms, and the Admiral as willing to grant all he could reasonably expect k. Thence Blake sailed with the Fleet to Jersey, where he arrived in the Month of October, and reduced it by the End of the Year; as he did likewise Cornet-Castle, which was the only Place held out for the King in Guernsey, and thus secured the Sovereignty of the Sea in this Part of the World for the Parliament 1.

SIR George Ayscue after the Reduction of Scilly, having strengthened his Fleet with some Ships, failed into the West-Indies, in order to reduce such of the Plantations as had declared for the King. On board his Fleet failed Colonel Allen, a Gentleman of Barbadoes, who had been fent by fuch, in that Colony and the Leeward-Islands, as were well affected to the Parliament, to demand Relief. This Fleet arrived in Carlifle-Bay in Barbadoes, on the fixteenth of October, 1651, and took fourteen Sail of Dutch Ships that were trading there. Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, whom we before mentioned, was Governor of the Island for the King, and shewed so good an Inclination to defend himself, that it was the 17th of December before Admiral Ayscue thought fit to attempt landing; which at last he effected with some Loss, Colonel Allen with between thirty and forty Men being killed in the Attempt. After his Forces

Heath's Chronicle, p. 288, 289. Bates's History of the Troubles, Life of Blake. k The Original Articles, a MS. in Folio of two Sheets, are still preserved in the Library of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Clarendon's History, p. 636. Heath's Chronicle, p. 306. Bates's History of the Troubles, &c.

Forces were on Shore, the Governor thought fit to capitulate, and had very fair Conditions given him; for which it is thought Admiral Ayscue was never forgiven by his Masters at home m. While he lay at Barbadoes, he sent a few Ships under Captain Dennis to reduce Virginia, which with some Trouble he effected. Sir George likewise subdued the Leeward-Islands; and having thus throughly subsilied his Commission he returned into Europe, where, as we shall see, he sound the Dutch War

already broke out ".

THE Causes of this War are very differently related according to the Humours and Opinions of different Writers; the Truth, however, feems to be, that the Old Common-wealth was jealous of the New one, and began to apprehend, that, whatever the rest of the World might be, Holland was no Gainer by the Change of Government in England. The Parliament, on the other Side, was very jealous of it's new-acquired Sovereignty, and expected, therefore, extraordinary Marks of Regard from all the Powers with which it corresponded o. The Murder of Dr. Doriflaus, whom they had fent with a public Character to the States, incenfed them exceedingly; nor were they better satisfied with the Reception that St. John and the rest of their Ambassadors met with; and, therefore, had little regard to the Expostulations of the Dutch, about their Act of Navigation, which was certainly a well-contrived Meafure, both for preferving and for extending the Trade of this Nation. The Dutch, on the other hand, were extremely alarmed, when they found the English Common-wealth infift on the Sovereignty of the Sea, the Right of fishing, and licensing to fish, disposed to carry the Point of the Flag to the utmost height, and behaving so in all Respects, that the States were convinced they would act upon King Charles's Plan, with this great Advantage of raising Money in much larger Sums, and yet with far less Trouble than he he did P. It was in the Spring of the Year 1652, that Things came to Extremities, but it was warmly disputed then, and is not fully settled at this Day who were the Aggressors. From the best Comparison I have been able to make from all the authentic Accounts on both Sides, it feems to me most probable, that the Dutch were the Aggreffors :

m British Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 18. Heath's Chronicle, p. 323. Columna Rostrata, p. 98. a Heath's Chronicle, p. 323. Clarendon's History, p. 634. Columna Rostrata, p. 89—95. The Reader, if he inclines to enter deep into the Reasons on which the Dutch War was grounded, may consult Whitlock, Clarendon, Holles. Rushworth, &c. on one Side; and Basnage, Le Clerc, Wicquesort, and the Lives of Dutch Admirals, on the other.

gressors: and this for many Reasons; but particularly, because they made secretly great Preparations for War, and had actually one hundred and fifty Ships of Force at Sea; whereas the English Parliament equipped no more than the usual Squadron for guarding the narrow Seas, which was under the Command of Admi-

ral Blake, and confifted of twenty-five Ships only 9.

THE first Blood that was drawn in this Quarrel, was occafioned by Commodore Young's firing upon a Dutch Man of War, for refuling him the Honour of the Flag. This was on the 14th of May, 1652, and proved very honourable for our Nation. Young acted with great Caution, and gave the Dutch all the Opportunity of avoiding a Dispute that they could defire. He fent his Boat on board the Dutchman to persuade him to strike; but the Captain answered plainly and honestly, that the States had threatened to take off his Head, if he struck : and upon this the Fight began, in which the Enemy was fo roughly handled, as to be obliged to ffrike. There were two other Ships of War, and about twelve Merchant-Men, none of which interferred; and on the other Side, after the Dutch Ships had taken in their Flags, Commodore Young retired without making any Prizes. This Affair would have been more talked of, if an Engagement of greater Consequence had not happened quickly after ".

ADMIRAL Van Tromp was at Sea with a Fleet of upwards of forty Sail, to protect (as was given out) the Dutch Trade. This Fleet coming into the Downs on the 18th of May, they met there with a small Squadron, under the Command of Major Bourne, to whom the Admiral fent Word, that he was forced in by Stress of Weather; Bourne answered roundly, this would best appear by the shortness of his Stay, and sent Advice of it to his Admiral. The next Day Van Tromp with his Fleet bore down upon Blake in Dover-Road, and on his coming near him, Blake fired thrice at his Flag; upon which the Dutch Admiral returned a Broad-fide. For near four Hours Blake was engaged almost alone, but by Degrees the Weather permitted his Fleet to come in, and then they behaved bravely. Towards the Close of the Engagement, which lasted from four in the Afternoon till nine at Night, Bourne came in with his eight Ships; upon which the Enemy bore away. In this Battle the Victory was clearly on the Side of the English, as the Dutch Writers themselves confess, there being two Dutch Ships taken, and one disabled; whereas the English lost none: and yet the Inequality

⁹ Heath's Chronicle, p. 314. Clarendon, Columna Rostrata.
7 This Account I take from Young's Letter to the Parliament.

equality was very great; for the Dutch Fleet confifted at first of forty-two Ships, and Blake's only of fifteen, and at the End of the Fight had no more than twenty-three. The Admirals wrote each of them an Account of this Affair to their respective Masters; wherein they plainly contradict each other: but with this difference, that there is no disproving any Fact mentioned in Blake's Letter; whereas there are several Falshoods or Mistakes at least in Tromp's; such as, that Bourne's Squadron confifted of twelve large Ships, which could not be true. Befides, though he infifts on Blake's being the Aggreffor, yet he owns, that his Flag was out all the Time. The States themselves were so sensible of their being in the Wrong, that they apologized for it, and fent over another Ambassador the Heer Adrian Paguw, to proceed on the Treaty. But the Demands of the Parliament were too high, and so all Thoughts of Peace were laid by on both Sides, and the War was proclaimed in Holland on

the 8th of July .

The English in the mean Time, by Virtue of the Act of Navigation, and by way of Reprifal and Requital for the late Damages, Affronts, and Hostilities, took many Dutch Ships. June II, Blake brought in eleven Merchant Ships with their Convoy coming from Nantes. June 12, the Captains Taylor and Peacock, in two English Frigates, engaged two Dutch Men of War, on the Coast of Flanders, for refusing to strike; of the which one was taken, and the other stranded: and on the 13th of the fame Month Blake took twenty-fix Merchant-Ships with July 4, Vice-Adthree Convoys bound home from France. miral Ayscue, (who, in his late Return from the Reduction of Barbadoes, had taken ten Merchant-Ships, and four Men of War) attacked the St. Ubes Fleet, of about forty Sail, of which near thirty were taken, burnt, or stranded, and plundered on the After this, while the States with the utmost French Coast. Diligence were getting ready a Fleet of seventy Men of War, under the Command of Tromp; Blake with about fixty, received Orders to fail to the North to diffurb the Dutch Fishery. Sir George Ayscue (who, fince the Destruction of the St. Ubes Fleet, had taken five Dutch Merchant-Ships) was left with the Remainder of the English Fleet, confisting of seven Men of War, in the Downs. While Blake triumphed in the North, as we shall shew in another Place, Tromp with his great Fleet came into the Mouth of the Thames, in Hopes of surprising G 4

This Account is copied from that printed by Order of the Parliament, with both Admirals Letters and other Papers annexed, 4to, 1652.

Ayscue, or insulting the Coast. Failing of this he sailed Northward to intercept Blake; but his Ships being dispersed by a Storm, he was disappointed in that Scheme also, and lost five or fix Frigates which sell into the Hands of Blake, on his Return towards the South.

THE People in Holland were very much diffatisfied with the Conduct of Tromp, which is the Case in all free Countries, where a Commander in Chief is unsuccessful. He acted upon this Occasion like a wife Man, and one who had a nice Sense of Honour, first justifying himself to the States, and then laying down his Commission to gratify the People. The main Objection against him was his being no great Seaman; and this engaged the States to cast their Eyes upon de Ruyter, the ablest Man amongst them in his Profession. He accepted the Command unwillingly; for he faw that as Things then stood, the English were superior ". The Parliament in the mean Time took Care to strengthen Sir George Ayscue's Fleet, fo that it amounted to thirty-eight Sail; of which only two were large Ships, and the rest Frigates and Fire-Ships. With these he put to Sea in Search of the Dutch, and took many Prizes, and at last met with de Ruyter, who, with a Fleet equal to his own, was convoying home between fifty and fixty Merchant-Men. This was on the 16th of August, 1652, and as our Admiral was cruifing off Plymouth. It was about one in the Afternoon when the Fleets came in Sight. De Ruyter took twenty of the Merchant-Ships into his Line of Battle. and was then very ready to engage. The Fight began about four, when the English Admiral with nine others charged through the Dutch Fleet, and having thus got the Weather Gage, attacked them again very bravely, and fo they continued fighting till Night, which parted them; the rest of Sir George's Fleet having very little to do in the Action. The Rear-Admiral Captain Peck loft his Leg, of which he foon after died, and most of the Captains who did their Duty were wounded, and a Fire-Ship was loft. On the other Side the Dutch were miferably torn, fo that many of their best Ships were scarce able to keep the Sea. Sir George Ayscue followed them for some Time the next Day, and then returned into Plymouth Sound to refresh his Men, and repair his Ships ". The Dutch give a very partial

Rushworth, Heath's Chronicle, Clarendon, Basnage, &c. ^u Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 258, 259. ^w Heath's Chronicle, p. 323. Columna Rostrata, p. 101. Bates's History of the Troubles in England, part ii. p. 175. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 260.

tial Account of this Business, in which without Question the English had some, and might have had much greater Advantage, if their Captains had behaved as they ought. This the Parliament very well knew; but by a refined Stroke of Policy, chose rather to lay the Fault on a single Man, than endanger the Obedience of the Fleet, by punishing many: upon which Principle they laid aside Sir George Ayscue; but softly, and with a Reward of 300 s. in Money, and 300 s. a Year. The true Reason of this was, his granting so good Terms to the Lord Willoughby, which they, however, performed very punctu-

ally .

THE War was not long confined to the Coasts of Britain. but spread itself into almost every Sea; and every Wind brought the News of fresh Destruction and Slaughter. latter End of the same Month, the Dutch Admiral Van Galen, with eleven Men of War, met and attacked the English Commodore Bodley, with three Men of War, a Fire-ship, and three or four Merchant-Ships, homeward-bound from Scanderoon and Smyrna. The first Day's Fight began in the Afternoon off the Island Elba, and lasted till Night, with little Advantage to either Party. The Dutch Historians agree, that three of their Men of War being separated in the Night, and afterwards becalmed, could not come up to have a Share in the second Engagement. On the other Side, the English parted from their Merchant-Ships, which being heavy and richly laden, were ordered to make the best of their Way to the nearest Harbour. The next Morning, the four remaining English being attacked by the eight Hollanders, the Fight went on with great Fury. Van Galen began a close Engagement with the English Commodore, but being difabled in his Rigging, and having received three Shots under Water, and being thrice on Fire, he was forced (as the Dutch Historians confess) to leave him. Another of the Enemy's largest Ships renewing the Attack, was likewise so well received, that she lost her Main-Mast. Whereupon the English Frigate, The Phænix, taking the Opportunity, boarded the disabled Hollander; but being too weak was taken, after a sharp Fight of an Hour, wherein most of her Men were either killed or wounded. In the mean Time the English Commodore Bodley, being again boarded by two of the Enemies Ships at once, defended himself so resolutely, that (by the Confession of the Dutch Historians) they were both beaten off with a dreadful Slaughter of their Men, and the Loss of both their Captains, Whereupon Bodley, seeing himself left by the Enemy (after having lost about a hundred Men, killed and wounded) with his three remaining Ships followed the Merchant-Men to Porto Longone; leaving the Hollanders to cast up the Account of the Honour and Profit they gained by this Encounter. The Enemy lost three of their Captains in the Fight, whom they afterwards buried at Porto Longone, where the English and they, being in a neutral Port, continued very friend-

ly together for some Time 7.

ADMIRAL Blake, who was now in the Channel, did infinite Damage to the Enemy, and some Hostilities, having been committed on the Coast of Newfoundland by the French, our gallant Admiral attacked a strong Squadron of their Ships going to the Relief of Dunkirk, took or destroyed them all, by which Means this important Place fell into the Hands of the Spaniards 2. The Dutch seeing their Trade thus ruined, and apprefive of still worse Consequences, fitted out another Fleet under the Command of de Wit, and sent it to join de Ruyter, who was appointed to bring home a large number of Merchant-Men. After the Junction of these Fleets, and the sending the Ships they were to convoy into Holland, the Admirals shewed a Defign of attacking the English Navy, and Blake gave them a fair Opportunity of executing their Intention. But when it came to the Point, the Dutch Fleet covered themselves behind a Sand-Bank; which, however, did not hinder Blake from engaging them on the 28th of September. He divided his Fleet into three Squadrons: the first commanded by himself, the second by Vice-Admiral Penn, and the third by Rear-Admiral Bourne. It was about three when the Engagement began, and the English quickly discovered their Rashness, in attacking an Enemy under fuch Disadvantages; for The Sovereign, a new Ship, struck immediately on the Sands, and so did several others; but getting off again, the English Fleet stood aloof, till de Wit came freely from his Advantages to a fair Engagement, which was boldly begun by Bourne, and gallantly seconded by the rest of the Fleet. A Dutch Man of War attempting to board The Sovereign was funk by her Side, and this by the first Discharge she made. Soon after a Dutch Rear-Admiral was taken by Captain Mildmay, and two other Men of War funk; a third blowing up before the End of the Fight. De Wit was then glad to retire, and was purfued by the English Fleet as long as it was light. The next Day they continued the Chace till they were within

p. 263. 2 Clarendon's History p. 636. Heath's Chronicle, p. 325. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 264.

within twelve Leagues of the Dutch Shore, and then feeing the Dutch Fleet entering into the Gorce, Blake returned in Triumph to the Downs, and then into Port, having loft about 200 Men, and having as many wounded. For the Reception of the latter, the Parliament took Care to provide Hospitals near Dover and Deal, and fent also their Thanks to the Admiral and his Officers a. The Dutch Writers pretend they loft no Ships. They admit, however, that one was taken; but being afterwards deserted, was brought safe into Port. De Wit fairly confessed the Loss, and charged it, first, on the bad Behaviour of no less than twenty of his Captains, who withdrew out of the Line of Battle; and next, on the States having bad Intelligence; the English Fleet being more numerous, and the Ships of greater Bulk than he expected. These Excuses were certainly true, and yet the People used their Admirals so ill, that de Ruyter was desirous of throwing up his Commission, and de Wit fell fick upon it. The States, however, behaved with great Prudence and Courage, repaired and augmented their Fleet to eighty Sail in fix Weeks Time, and then engaged Tromp to take the Command of them; though some say, that the King of Denmark drew them to this Resolution, by promising them a powerful Squadron of his Ships, provided Tromp had the Command b.

This Prince had very unadvisedly engaged himself in a Quarrel with the Parliament, by detaining (at the Request of the Dutch) a Fleet of twenty English Ships in the Harbour of Copenhagen. At first he pretended that he did it for their Sasety, and therefore, Commodore Ball was sent with a Squadron of eighteen Sail to convoy them home; when his Danish Majesty declared his Resolution to keep them, and the Fear he was under for the Consequences of this strange Step, induced him to offer the Dutch his Assistance. This sell out happily for them; for the English now filled their Ports with Dutch Prizes, while the People of Holland suffering in so tender a Point began to lose all Patience; which forced the States to hurry out Tromp with his Fleet, to convoy a Fleet of 300 Merchant Men through the Channel.

It being now the beginning of November, Blake who thought the Season of Action over, had detached twenty of his Ships for

^a Clarendon's History, p. 636. Heath's Chronicle, p. 326, 327. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 366.

^b Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 260, 261.

^c Heath's Chronicle, p. 327. Columna Rostrata, p. 108. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, p. 289.

the Security of the Newcastle-Colliers; twelve more were sent to Plymouth, and fifteen were retired into the River, in order to repair the Damage which they had received in a Storm. Tromp having Intelligence of this, and that Blake had with him no more than thirty-feven Ships, and many of these but thinly manned, resolved to attack him in the Downs, not far from the Place where they had fought before 4. On the 29th of November he presented himself before the English Fleet, and Blake, after holding a Council of War, resolved to engage, notwithstanding this great Inequality: but the Wind rising, they were obliged to defer fighting till next Day; and that Night our Fleet rode a little above Dover-Road. In the Morning both Fleets plied Westward, Blake having the Weather-Gage. About eleven the Battle began with great Fury; but very unluckily for the English, half their small Fleet could not engage. The Triumph, in which Blake was in Person, The Victory, and The Van Guard, bore almost the whole Stress of the Fight, having twenty Dutch Men of War to deal with at once; and yet they fought it out till it was dark. Late in the Evening. The Garland commanded by Captain Batten, and The Bonaventure Captain Hookston, clapped Van Tromp aboard, killed his Secretary and Purfer by his Side, and had certainly taken his Ship, if they had not been boarded by two Dutch Flags, by whom, afther their Captains were killed, both these Ships were taken. Blake, who faw this with Indignation, pushed so far to their Relief, that he was very near sharing the same Fate, if The Van Guard and Saphire had not stood by him with the utmost Resolution, and at last brought him off. The Hercules was run ashore in the Retreat, and if the Night had not sheltered them, most of the Ships that were engaged must have been lost; but they took the Advantage of its Obscurity, and retired first to Dover, and then into the River. Tromp continued a Day or two in the Downs, failed from thence towards Calais, took Part of the Barbadoes Fleet, and some other Prizes, and then failed to the Isle of Rhie, with a Broom at his Top-mast Head, intimating, that he would fweep the narrow Seas of English Ships. There appears, however, no such Reason for boasting as the Dutch Writers suggest; their Fleet had many Advantages, and yet they bought their Success very dear, one of their best Ships being blown up, and two of their Admirals in a Manner difabled 8.

THE

Heath's Chronicle, p. 229, 330. Columna Rostrata, p. 109.
Heath's Chronicle, 330.

Fibid. p. 331. Columna Rostrata, p. 112, 113.

Clarendon, Whitlock, Rushworth.

THE Parliament shewed their Steadiness, by careffing Blake after his Defeat, and naming him, in Conjunction with Deane and Monk, General at Sea for another Year. In order to the more speedy manning the Navy, they issued a Proclamation, offering Rewards to such as entered themselves within the space of forty Days; they also raised the Sailors Pay from 19 to 24 s. a Month : and this had so good an Effect, that in fix Weeks Time they had a Fleet ready to put to Sea of fixty Men of War forty under Blake in the River, and twenty more at Portsmouth. On the 11th of February both Fleets joined near Beachy-Head; and thence Admiral Blake failed over-against Portland, where he lay cross the Channel, in order to welcome Tromp on his Return. This was a kind of Surprize on the Dutch Admiral, who did not think it possible, after the late Defeat, for the Parliament to fit out, in so short a Space, a Fleet capable of fighting again. He had between two and three hundred Merchant-Ships under Convoy, and was therefore much amazed, when failing up the Channel he found Blake so stationed, that it was impossible to avoid fighting. Authors vary pretty much as to the Strength of their respective Fleets; but by comparing both the Admirals Letters, I apprehend they were nearly equal, each having about feventy Sail . Blake and Deane were both on board The Triumph, and with twelve fout Ships headed their Fleet, and fell in first with the Dutch on the 18th of February, 1653, about eight in the Morning. They were very roughly treated before the rest of the Fleet came up, though gallantly seconded by Lawfon, in The Fairfax, and Captain Mildway, in The Vanguard. In The Triumph, Blake was wounded in the Thigh with a Piece of Iron a Shot had driven, and the same Piece of Iron tore General Deane's Coat and Breeches. Captain Ball, who commanded the Ship, was thot dead, and fell at Blake's Feet; his Secretary Mr. Sparrow was likewise killed, receiving his Orders: he lost besides a hundred Seamen, and the rest were most of them wounded, and his Ship so miserably shattered, that it shad little Share in the two next Days Fights 1. In The Fairfax there were a hun-

h Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 298, 299. Heath's Chronicle, p. 335. Clarendon's History, Whitlock's Memorials, Rapin.

Heath's Chronicle, p. 335. The Accounts in this Book are, generally speaking, from the Relations printed by Order of the State, and are therefore more to be depended on than the Accounts in Whitlock, which were set down according to the News he received; and therefore, what is one Day reported as a Fact. is perhaps a Week afterwards retracted.

dred Men killed, and the Ship wretchedly torn; The Vanguard loft her Captain and abundance of Men. The Prosperous, a Ship of 44 Guns, was boarded by de Ruyter, and taken; but de Ruyter's Ship being in that Instant boarded by an English Man of War, Captain Kefey in The Merlin-Frigate entered The Prosperous, and retook her. The Affiftance, Vice-Admiral of the Blue Squadron, was disabled in the beginning of the Fight, and brought off to Portsmouth, whither the Advice quickly followed her, being no longer able to keep the Sea. Tromp, who was long engaged with Blake, loft most of his Officers, and had his Ship disabled; de Ruyter lost his Main and Fore-Top-Mast, and very narrowly escaped being taken. One Dutch Man of War was blown up; fix more were either funk or taken: the latter had their Rigging fo clotted with Blood and Brains, that it was impossible to look upon them but with Horror k.

FRIDAY Night was spent in repairing the Damage, and making the necessary Dispositions for a second Engagement. On Saturday Morning the Enemy was feen again feven Leagues off Weymouth, whither the English plyed, and came up with them in the Afternoon about three Leagues to the North-West of the Ist of Wight. Tromp had rallied his Fleet, and ranged it in the Form of an half-Moon, inclosing the Merchant-Ships within a Semi-circle, and in that Posture he maintained a retreating Fight. The English made several desperate Attacks, striving to break through to the Merchant-Ships: on which Occasion de Ruyter's Ship was again so roughly treated, that she was towed out of the Fleet. At last, the Merchant-Men, finding they could be no longer protected, began to thift for themselves, throwing Part of their Goods over board, for the greater Expedition. According to Blake's own Letter, eight Men of War, and fourteen or fixteen Merchant-Ships, were taken; and the Fight continued all Night.

On Sunday Morning the Dutch were near Bulloign, where the Fight was renewed, but with little Effect. Tromp had flipped away in the Dark with his Merchant-Men to Calais-Sands, where he anchored that Day with forty Sail; the Wind favouring him, he thence tided it home, our Fleet purfuing but flowly; for Blake, though he feared not Dutchmen, yet dreaded their shallow Coasts: however, the Captains, Lawfon, Martin, and Graver, took each a Dutch Man of War,

Heath's Chronicle, p. 337. Columna Rostrata, 113. 114. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 300.

Columna Rostrata, p. 115.

and Penn picked up many of their Merchant-Men. On the whole, the Dutch had the better the first Day, lost Ground the second, and were clearly beaten the third. They loft eleven Men of War, (their own Accounts fay but nine) thirty Merchant-Men, 1500 killed, and as many wounded. As for the English, they lost only The Sampson, which Captain Button finding disabled, sunk of his own Accord. As to their Men, it is certain, their Loss was little inferior to the Dutch m. It is remarkable, that in this Fight Blake, who had been long a Land-Officer, made use of a good Body of Soldiers, and with all the Success he could wish : yet this is no Precedent in any but fuch a War as this was; fince these Troops had no Time to languish or grow fick, but were engaged almost as soon as they were put on board. The People contributed readily and plentifully to the Relief of our wounded Seamen; and the Dutch on their Side complimented Tromp on his Conduct, which was certainly no more than he deferved ".

In the mean Time Things went but ill in the Streights, where the English and Dutch Squadron lay together in the Road of Leghorn. An Action happened there which deserves to be related, because there appears as much true Bravery and Maritime Skill in the English Officers who had the Missortune to be beat, as ever rendered a Victory conspicuous; and it ought to be the Business of an Historian to celebrate Merit rather than

Success

THE English Squadron consisted of six Ships commanded by Commodore Appleton, of the Burden and Force expressed in the following List.

Ships. Guns.	Men.
The Leopard, 52 -	
Bonaventure, 44	
Sampson, 36 -	90
Levant-Merchant, - 28 -	
Pilgrim, 30 -	70
Mary, - 30 -	 70

COMMODORE Appleton took this Opportunity of lying so near the Dutch Squadron, to send three Boats manned with resolute Seamen.

m Clarendon's History, p. 636. Heath's Chronicle, p. 335. Bates's History of the Troubles of England, p. 175. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 366. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 301. heath's Chronicle, p. 335. Columna Rostrata, p. 115, 116.

Seamen, and commanded by one Captain Cox, to execute a Defien upon the Ship Phænix, which had been taken from the English in the Rencounter near Elba, and which made a Part of the Enemies Squadron. This Defign was undertaken on the 26th of November, 1652, and it succeeded so well, that the Ship being boarded by the English, the Dutch were so surprized, that they made but little Refistance; and the young Tramp who commanded her, was forced to leap into the Water to avoid being taken. The Action was performed with fuch Expedition, that before the Dutch, who lay next her, were well apprifed of what had happened, the was carried off. But the Great Duke of Tuscany being informed of this Adventure, and judging it to be a Violation of the Neutrality of that Port, he ordered the English either to restore The Phanix, or to depart from thence. To depart was not without Danger: for Van Galen with the whole Strength of the Enemy in those Seas, confifting of fixteen Men of War, a Fire-Ship, and several stout Merchant-Ships, (which were offered a Share of the Booty, if they would engage) lay ready before the Harbour to intercept them.

YET they rather chose to run all Hazards, than to deliver up the Ship. With this Resolution they dispatched away Advice to Commodore Bodley, who lay at the Island Elba with two Men of War, a Fire-Ship, and the Four Merchant-Ships which were present at the former Engagement with Van Galen; and it was agreed between the two Commodores, that Bodley with his small Squadron (though unfit to engage, partly on Account of the Loss of Men in the late Fight, and partly on account of the Merchant-Ships under their Convoy, which were laden with 1500 Bales of Silk, and other valuable Goods) should appear about the Time fixed, within Sight of Legborn, to make a Bravado, in order to amuse the Dutch, and thereby, if possible, to draw them off from before the Harbour, and so to open a Passage for Appleton to escape. According to Agreement, Bodley on the 2d of March 1653, came within Sight of the Place. On the 3d he caused three or four of his best Sailors to approach the Enemy, who were stationed before the Port: whereupon, their whole Squadron (as was expected) stood to Sea, and gave them chace. This Appleton perceiving, took the Opportunity to come out; but too foon: for the Dutch being aware of their Design, immediately gave over the Chase, and tacking about, fell upon Appleton's Squadron with nine of their Men of War, while the rest observed Bodley.

AT the first Encounter, an unfortunate Shot from Van Galen's Ship set Fire to The Bonaventure, which blew up, though not unrevenged; for at the same Time a Shot from that Ship

broke Van Galen's Leg, of which Hurt he foon after died. In the mean while, Appleton was attacked by two of the Hollanders at once, against whom he maintained a close Fight of four or five Hours, with fuch Resolution, that both the Dutch Ships were fo disabled, that they scarce fired a Shot; Van Galen seeing the Resolution of the English Commodore, and going (though desperately wounded) to the Affistance of his Friends, was in great Danger by a Fire-Ship fent off from Bodley's Squadron. But another Ship coming to the Affistance of the Hollanders who were engaged with Appleton, they renewed the Attack with greater Vigour. Some Dutch Writers report, that Appleton finding himself oppressed by such unequal Numbers, after having made all possible Resistance, ran down and would have blown up his Ship; but that, being hindered by his Seamen, he was obliged to yield. The young Tromp attacking The Sampson, was beaten off after a desperate Fight; but The Sampson was foon after burnt by a Fire-Ship. The Levant-Merchant being encountered by one of the Enemies Ships, beat her off and stranded her. But being at last taken, together with The Pilgrim, (which had loft her Main and Mizen-Masts in the Fight) The Mary, thus left alone, made her Escape, and joined the nearest Ships of Bodley's Squadron, which put an End to the Engagement o.

BEFORE we can regularly return to the Events of the War nearer home, it is absolutely necessary to take notice of the great Change made in our Civil Government by Cromwell, who on the 20th of April, 1653, entered the House of Commons, and dissolved the Parliament by Force P. An Action stupendous in itself, and which seems to have struck too many of our own and of foreign Historians with want of Discernment. They attribute to Cromwell whatever was done after the Murder of the King; and the Dutch Historians particularly, impute this War to him, and amongst other Reasons for his dissolving the Parliament, make this to have been one; that he suspected they were inclined to Peace 9: whereas, in Truth, never

o Heath's Chronicle, p. 337. Columna Rostrata, p. 119. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 306; where this Writer tells us, that the Body of Admiral Van Galen was transported into Holland, buried at Amsterdam, and a Magnisscent Monument erected to his Memory, at the Expence of the States.

P Clarendon, Whitlock, Bates, Warwick, Ludlow, &c.

P Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 303, and the same Error runs through all the Dutch Historians.

two Governments were less alike, than those of the Parliament and the Protector, the former acted upon national Principles; the latter from private Views. The Dutch War was the Parliament's War, begun upon the old Quarrel, which King Charles would have prosecuted, had he been able. It is true, that Cromwell carried on the War; but it was only till he could make such a Peace as served his Turn; and our noble Historian rightly observes, that it was the Parliament's persisting in carrying on this War, that compelled Cromwell to act sooner than he would have done, from his Foresight, that if they once conquered their foreign Enemies, they would not easily be overturned at home

by their own Creatures '.

IT must be confessed, that the Dutch did not instantly receive any great Benefit from this sudden Revolution, but then it must be confidered, that the chief Officers of the Fleet concurred in this Measure. The Government of the Parliament was a Government of Order and Laws, (however they came by their Authority); the Government of the General, afterwards Protector, was entirely Military: No Wonder, therefore, that both the Navy and the Army were pleafed with him . Some Advantage, however, the Enemy certainly reaped from this Change in English Affairs; for Van Tromp convoyed a great Fleet of Merchant-men to the North, (for they were now forced to try that Road rather than the Channel) and though our Navy followed him to the Height of Aberdeen, yet it was to no Purpose: he escaped them both going and coming back, which gave him an Opportunity of coming into the Downs, making some Prizes, and battering Dover Caftle. This Scene of Triumph lasted but a bare Week; for Tromp came thither on the 26th of Mar, and on the last of that Month, he had Intelligence, that Monk and Deane, who commanded the English Fleet, were approaching t. The English Fleet confisted of ninety-five Sail of Men of War, and five Fire-Ships. The Dutch had ninetyeight Men of War, and fix Fire-ships, and both Fleets were commanded by Men the most remarkable for Courage and Conduct in either Nation; fo that it was generally conceived, this Battle would prove decifive.

On the 2d of June, in the Morning, the English Fleet discovered the Enemy, whom they immediately attacked with great

r Clarendon's History, p. 636. where he proves, that Cromwell was never heartily inclined to the Dutch War, and p. 641. where he shews what the Causes were which hastened Cromwell in the Execution of his Project.

s Heath's Chronicle, p. 339, 340. Holles's and Warwick's Memoirs, compared with Whitlock.
t Heath's Chronicle, p. 344.

great Vigour. The Action began about Eleven o'Clock, and the first Broad-fide from the Enemy carried of the brave Admiral Deane, whose Body was almost cut in two by a Chain-shot. Monk with much Presence of Mind covered his Body with his Cloak: and here appeared the Wildom of both Admirals being on board the same Ship; for, as no Flag was taken in, the Fleet had no Notice of this Accident, but the Fight continued with the fame Warmth as if it had not happened. The Blue Squadron charged through the Enemy, and Rear-Admiral Lawfon bid fair for taking de Ruyter, and after he was obliged to leave his Ship, funk another of 42 Guns, commanded by Captain Bulter. The Fight continued very hot till three o' Clock, when the Dutch fell into great Confusion, and Tromp saw himself obliged to make a kind of running Fight till Nine in the Evening, when a fout Ship commanded by Cornelius Van Velsen blew up. This increased the Confusion in which they were before; and though Tromp did all that was in his Power, to oblige the Officers to do their Duty, and even fired upon such Ships as drew out of the Line; yet it was to no Purpose, but rather ferved to increase their Misfortune. In the Night Blake arrived in the English Fleet, with a Squadron of eighteen Ships, and so had his Share in the second Day's Engagement ".

TROMP did all that was confishent with his Honour to avoid fighting the next Day; but he would do no more, so that the English Fleet came up with them again by Eight in the Morning, and engaged with the utmost Fury, the Battel continued very hot for about four Hours, and Vice-Admiral Penn boarded Tromp twice, and had taken him if he had not been seasonably relieved by de Wit and de Ruyter. At last the Dutch fell again into Confusion, which was so great, that a plain Flight quickly followed, and instead of trusting to their Arms, they fought Shelter on the flat Coast of Newport, from whence with Difficulty enough they escaped to Zealand. Our Writers agree that the Dutch had fix of their best Ships funk, two blown up, and eleven taken; fix of their principal Captains were taken Prisoners, and upwards of 1500 Men. Among the Ships before mentioned, one was a Vice, and two were Rear-Admi-The Dutch Historians, indeed, confess the Loss but of eight men of War. On our Side Admiral Deane and one Captain were all the Persons of Note killed: of private Men there

H 2 were

[&]quot; Clarendon's History, p. 644. Heath's Chronicle, p. 344. have likewise consulted Monk's Letter printed in the Proceedings of the Parliament called by Authority of General Cromwell in 1653, p. " Columna Rostrata, p. 126. Heath's Chronicle, p. 345.

were but few, and not a Ship was missing; so that a more signal Victory could scarce be obtained or indeed desired. Besides, the Enemies Ships were now blocked up in their Ports, and the Sight of a foreign Fleet at their Doors had this farther bad Consequence, that it excited domestic Tumults. We need not wonder then that the Dutch sent Ambassadors into England to negotiate a Peace almost on any Terms. These Cromwell received with Haughtiness enough, talked high, and assumed to himself the Credit of sormer Victories, in which he could have little Share.

THE States, however, were far from trufting entirely to Negotiations, but laboured with the utmost Diligence to repair their past Losses, and to fit out a new Fleet. This was a very difficult Task; and in order to effect it, they were forced to raife the Scamens Wages, though their Trade was at a full flop: they came down in Person to their Ports, and saw their Men embarked, advanced them Wages beforehand, and promised them if they would fight once again, they would never ask them more. Yet all this would hardly have done, if the Industry of de Wit in equipping their new-built Ships, and the Care and Skill of Van Tromp in refitting their old ones, and encouraging the Seamen, had not contributed more than all the other Methods that were taken to the fetting out a fresh Fleet of upwards of ninety Ships in the latter End of July; a Thing admired then, and scarce credible now. These were victualled for five Months; and the Scheme laid down by the States was this, that, to force the English Fleet to leave their Ports, this Navy of theirs should come and block up ours. But first it was resolved, that Van Tromp should fail to the Mouth of the Texel, where de Ruyter with twenty-five Sail of stout Ships was held in by the English Fleet, in order to try if they might not be provoked to leave their Station, and thereby give the Dutch Squadron an Opportunity of coming out 2.

On the 29th of July, 1653, the Dutch Fleet appeared in Sight of the English, upon which the latter did their utmost to engage them: but Tromp, having in view the Release of de Wit rather than fighting, kept off, so that it was seven at Night before General Monk in The Resolution, with about thirty Ships great and small, came up with them, and charged through their Fleet. It growing dark soon after, there passed nothing more that Night, Monk sailing to the South, and Van Tromp to the Northward, and this not being suspected by the English, he both joined

^{*} Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 311. ' Heath's Chron:cle, p. 346.
Basnage de Neufville, Le Clerc, Rapin.

joined de Wu's Squadron, and gained the Weather Gage *. The next Day proving very foul and windy, the Sea ran fo very high, that it was impossible for the Fleet to engage, the English particularly finding it hard enough to keep off the Ene-

my's Coasts b.

On Sunday, July 31, the Weather being favourable, both Fleets engaged with terrible Fury. The Battle lasted at least eight Hours, and was the most hard-fought of any that had happened throughout the War. The Dutch Fire-ships were managed with great Dexterity, and many of the large Veffels in the English Fleet were in the utmost Danger, and The Triumph was so effectually fired, that most of her Crew threw themselves into the Sea, and yet those who staid behind were so lucky as to put it out. Lawfon engaged de Ruyter brifkly, killed and wounded above half his Men, and fo difabled his Ship, that it was towed out of the Fleet: vet the Admiral did not leave the Battel fo, but returned in a Galliot, and went on board another Ship. About Noon Van Tromp was shot through the Body with a Musket-Ball, as he was giving Orders 4. This miserably discouraged his Countrymen, so that by Two they began to fly in great Confusion, having but one Flag standing amongst them. The lightest Frigates in the English Fleet purfued them closely, till the Dutch Admiral, perceiving they were but small and of no great Strength, turned his Helm, and refolved to engage them; but fome bigger Ships coming in to their Assistance the Dutchman was taken. It was Night by that Time their scattered Fleet recovered the Texel. The English fearing their Flats rode about fix Leagues off. This was a terrible Blow to the Dutch, of whom, according to Admiral Monk's Letter, no less than thirty Ships were lost; but from better Intelligence it appeared, that four of these had escaped, two into Zealand, and two into Hamburghf. Their Lofs, however, was very great: five Captains were taken Prisoners, and between four and five thousand Men killed, twenty-fix Ships of War either burnt or funk. On the Side of the English there were two Ships only, viz. The Oak and The Hunter Frigate, burnt, fix Captains killed, and about five hundred Seamen. were also fix Captains wounded, and about eight hundred private Men s. The Dutch Writers dispute many of these Points, H 3

Heath's Chronicle, p. 346, 347. Proceedings of the Parliament, A. D. 1653. p. 28.

Columna Rostrata, p. 130.

Heath's Chronicle, p. 347.

Heath's Chronicle, p. 348.

Monk's Letter, which is printed in the Proceedings of the Parliament I have cited, was written the very Evening of the Fight, viz. July 31, 1653.

and some of them will not allow that they lost above nine ships. The contrary of this, however, appears from de Wit's Letter to the States, wherein he owns many more, confesses that he had made a very precipitate Retreat, for which he assigns two Reasons; sirst, that the best of their ships were miserably shattered, and next, that many of his Officers had behaved like Polyrons h.

Some very fingular Circumstances attended this extraordinary Victory, and deferve therefore to be mentioned. There were feveral Merchant-men, in the Fleet, and Monk, finding Occafion to employ them, thought proper to fend their Captains to each others thips, in order to take off their Concern for their Owners Vessels and Cargoes; a scheme which answered his Purpose perfectly well, no ships in the Fleet behaving better i. He had likewise observed, that in most Engagements, much Time and many Opportunities were lost by taking ships and fending them into Harbour; and confidering that still greater Inconveniences must arise from their Nearness to the Enemy's Coast, and Distance from their own, he issued his Orders in the beginning of the Fight, that they should neither give nor take Quarter; which, however, were not fo strictly observed, but that twelve hundred Dutchmen were taken out of the fea, while their thips were finking k. Monk himself was so active, that in his Letter to Cromwell, dated the 2d of August, 1653, he takes Notice that of five Dutch Flags that were flying at the beginning of the Fight, he had the good Fortune to bring down three, viz. those of Tromp, Evertson, and de Ruyter1; and to long he continued in the Heat of the Dispute, that his Thip The Resolution was at last towed out of the Line: and indeed most of the great Vessels had been so roughly handled, that there was no continuing on the Enemy's Coast any longer.

THE Parliament then fitting, who were of Cromwell's Appointment, upon the 8th of August, 1653, ordered Gold Chains to be sent to the Generals Blake and Monk, and likewise to Vice-Admiral Penn and Rear-Admiral Lawson; they sent also Chains to the rest of the Flag-Officers, and Medals to the Captains. The 25th of August was appointed for a Day of solemn Thanksgiving,

of the Parliament, p. 34. Heath's Chronicle, p. 348. Columna Rostrata, p. 132. Bates's History, p. 175. h Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 240. Leven Van Tromp, p. 142. Heath's Chronicle, p. 348. Columna Rostrata, p. 130.—133. Proceedings of the Parliament, p. 33. where there is an Extract only; but I have seen a Copy of the entire Letter.

Thanksgiving m, and Monk being then in Town, Cromwell at a great Feast in the City put the Gold Chain about his Neck, and obliged him to wear it all Dinner-Time ". As for the States, they supported their Loss with great Constancy; they buried Tromp very magnificently at the public Expence; and as foon as the Return of the English Fleet permitted, fent de Wit with a Fleet of fifty Men of War and five Fireships to the Sound, in order to convoy home a Fleet of 300 Merchant-men, there affembled from different Quarters o. This he performed very happily, though the English Fleet lay in wait for him: but the Joy which the Dutch conceived upon this Occasion was foon qualified by Accidents of another fort; for an English Squadron falling in with a large Fleet of Merchant-men in the Mouth of the Ulie, and Admiral Lawfon failing to the North, destroyed their Herring-fishing for that Year, and either took or funk most of the Frigates fent to protect them: befides, a great Storm drove twelve or thirteen of their best Men of War from their Anchors, fo that running on Shore they were loft P.

THE Negotiation carried on by the Dutch Ministers at London met at first with many Difficulties. The Terms prescribed were in Number many, and in their Nature hard, infomuch that it is scarce to be conceived that the Dutch could ever have fubmitted to them; but an Accident (if indeed the Effect of Cromwell's Intrigues ought to be called fo) delivered them out of their Diffress. The Parliament on the 12th of December, 1653, took a sudden Resolution of delivering up their Power to him from whom it came, viz. the Lord General Cromwell, who foon after took upon him the supreme Magistracy, under the Title of Protector 9. He quickly admitted the Dutch to a Treaty upon fofter Conditions, though he affected to make Use of high Terms, and to behave towards their Ambassadors with a great deal of Haughtiness, which, for the sake of their Country's Interest, they knew well enough how to bear. This Treaty ended in a Peace, which was made the 4th of April, 1654. In this Negotiation the Coalition, upon which the Parliament had infifted, was dropped. No Mention was made of our fole Right to fishing on our own Coast, nor any annual Tribute secured to us for the Dutch Fishing in our Seas, which had been actually paid to King Charles, and was offered to the Parliament, though Cromwell, because his Administration stood H 4 in

m Parliamentary Proceedings, p. 39. 45.
n Columna Rostrata,
p. 134.
o Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, p. 315, 316,
317.
P Clarendon, Whitlock, Basnage Annales des Provinces
Unies, vol, i p. 317. Rapin.

q Heath's Chronicle, p. 353.

in Need of a Peace, thought fit to part with it. He likewise gave up all Claim to the searching Dutch Ships, which the Parliament had rigorously insisted on. The Right of limiting the Number of their Ships of War, was another of their Articles that he dropt; neither did he oblige them to grant the English a free Navigation on the River Scheld. But it is now Time

to fee the Terms to which he held them.

IT was in the first Place stipulated, that such as could be found of the Persons concerned in the Massacre at Amboyna, should be delivered up to Justice. This was very specious, and calculated to give the People a high Idea of the Protector's Patriotism, who thus compelled the Dutch to make Satisfaction, for an Offence which the two former Kings could never bring them to acknowledge. But as this Article was never executed, fo we may reasonably conclude, that the Dutch knew the Protector's Mind before they made this Concession. They acknowledged the Dominion of the English at Sea, by confenting to strike the Flag, submitted to the Act of Navigation, undertook to give the East-India Company Satisfaction for the Losses they had fustained, and by a private Article bound themselves never to elect any of the House of Orange to the Dignity of Stadtholder'. Thus taking all Things together, this ought rather to be confidered as a close Conjunction between the new Protector of England, and the Louvestein Faction in Holland, than an Alliance between the two Nations. For though it be true, that some Regard was had in this Treaty to the Honour and Interest of England, yet considering our Success in that War, and the Situation Things were in at the Conclusion of it, there can he no Reason to doubt, that, if the Parliament which begun the War had ended it, they would have done it upon better Terms, in Respect both to Profit and Glory.

HOSTILITIES between the two States had not continued quite two Years; and yet in that Time the English took no less than 1700 Prizes, valued by the Dutch themselves at sixty-two Millions of Guilders, or near six Millions Sterling. On the contrary, those taken by the Dutch could not amount to the fourth Part, either in Number or Value. Within that Time the English were victorious in no less than five general Battels, some of which were of several Days; whereas the Hol-

Columna Rostrata, p. 137. Heath's Chronicle, p. 357. Flagellum; or, the Life and Death of O. Cromwell, p. 147. See this Treaty at large in the Collection of Treaties in four Volumes.

landers, cannot justly boast of having gained one; for the Action between de Ruyter and Ayscue, in which they pretended some Advantage, was no general Fight; and the Advantage gained by Tromp in the Downs, is owned to have been gained but over a Part of the English Fleet. As short as this Quarrel was, it brought the Dutch to greater Extremities, than their sourscore Years War with Spain. The States shewed great Wisdom in one Point, viz. including their Ally the King of Denmark in this Treaty, by undertaking that either he or they should make Satisfaction for the English Ships which had been

feized at the beginning of the War in his Port t.

THE Rupture between France and England still continued, our Ships of War taking, finking, or burning theirs whereever they met them, and the French Privateers disturbing our Commerce as much as they were able ". An Attempt was made by the French Ministry to have got France as well as Denmark included in the Peace made with the States: but Cromwell would not hear of this, because he knew how to make his Advantage of the Difficulties the French then laboured under another Way; in which he succeeded perfectly well, obliging them in 1655, to submit to his own Terms, and to give up the Interests of the Royal Family, notwithstanding their near Relation to the House of Bourbon. He likewise obtained a very advantageous Treaty of Commerce, and without Question his Conduct with regard to France would have deferved Commendation, if, for the Sake of fecuring his own Government, he had not entered too readily into the Views of Cardinal Mazarine, and contributed thereby to the aggrandizing of a Power which has been terrible to Europe ever fince ", and which he might have reduced within just Bounds, if he had so pleafed.

He did not discover his Intentions in this Respect all at once, but by Degrees only, and as they became necessary. He affected to have his Friendship earnestly solicited both by France and Spain, and even declared publicly, that he would give it to the Court which deserved best, or, in plain Terms, bid highest for it. The first Sign of his Reconciliation to the French, was, the restoring the Ships taken by Blake, with Provisions and Ammunition for the Garison of Dunkirk; and yet nothing of Confidence appeared then between the Cardinal and him, though it

verwerd Europa, p. 122, Interest Van Holland, p. 34. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 335. "Heath's Chronicle, p. 356, 357. "Clarendon's History, p. 649, Heath's Chronicle, p. 356.

is generally supposed, that the first Instigation to the Spanish War came from him; who gave the Protector to understand, that the English Maritime Force could not be better employed than in conquering Part of the Spanish West-Indies, while France attacked the same Crown in Europe; and to purchase his Assistance would readily relinquish the Royal Family, and so rid him from all Fears of an Invasion y. Besides these Hints from abroad the Protector had some Notices of a like Nature at home; especially from one Gage a Priest, who had been long in America, and who surnished him with a copious Account of the Wealth

and Weakness of the Spaniards there z.

IMMEDIATELY after the Conclusion of the Dutch War, the Protector ordered all the Ships of his Navy to be repaired, and put into good Condition. He likewise directed many new ones to be built; Storehouses, Magazines, &c. to be filled with Ammunition and Provision: whence it was evident enough that he intended not to be idle, though no body knew against whom this mighty Force was to be exerted. In the Summer of the Year 1654, he ordered two great Fleets to be provided, one of which was to be commanded by Admiral Blake, and the other by Vice-Admiral Penn. Neither of these had any Knowlege of what the other was to attempt; fo far from it, they knew not perfectly what themselves were to perform b. Their Orders were to be opened at Sea, and they had no farther Lights given them, than were absolutely requisite for making the necessary Preparations. Blake, as foon as all things were ready, put to Sea, and failed into the Streights, where his Orders were to procure Satisfaction from fuch Princes and States, as had either infulted the Government, or injured the Commerce of England. But, before his Departure, it had been industriously given out, that he was to intercept the Duke of Guise, and to protect the Kingdom of Naples from the French. This had the defired Effect; it lulled the Spaniards afleep, and even disposed them to shew the Admiral all possible Civilities, who very probably had as yet no Suspicion of his Master's Design to break with that Nation. The first Place he went to was Leghorn, where he had two Accounts to make up with the Grand Duke: the first was for his Subjects purchasing the Prizes made by Prince Rupert; the other

Clarendon, Whitlock, Basnage, Rapin, &c. ² He wrote a Book intitled, A Survey of the West-Indies, of which the first Edition was in Folio, and there have been several in octavo; but these latter want a Chapter, which is the most curious in the whole Book. ² Clarendon's History, p. 673. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 400, ^b Clarendon's History, p. 673. Whitlock, Rapin.

December.

for the Damage done by Van Galen when Appleton was forced out of Leghorn Road. These Demands surprized the Prince on whom they were made; especially when he understood how large a Sum was expected from him, not less in the whole than 150,000 l. which, however, was moderated to 60,000 l. and this Sum there is Reason to believe was actually paid. Thence he proceeded to Algiers, where he arrived the 10th of March, 1655, and anchored without the Mole, fending an Officer to the Dey, to demand Satisfaction for the Pyracies committed on the English, and the Release of all Captives belonging to his Na-The Dey answered very modefly, that as for the Ships and Slaves, they were now the Property of private Persons, from whom he could not take them with Safety to himself; but that he would take Care they should be redeemed upon easy Terms, and would make a Treaty with him to prevent any Hostilities being committed for the future. The Admiral left the Port upon this, and failed to Tunis, where he fent the like Message on Shore; but received a very short Answer, viz. " Here are " our Caftles of Guletta and Porto Ferino: you may do your " worst; we do not fear you." Blake entered the Bay of Porto Ferino, and came within Musket-shot of the Castle and Line, which he played upon fo warmly, that they were foon in a defenceless Condition. There were then nine Ships in the Road, which the Admiral refolved to burn; and with this View ordered every Captain of his own Ships to man his Long-boat with choice Men, and these to enter the Harbour and fire the Ships of Tunis, while he and his Fleet covered them from the Castle, by playing continually on it with their Cannon. The Seamen in their Boats boldly affaulted the Pyrates, and burnt all their Ships, with the Lofs of twenty-five Men killed, and fortyeight wounded. This daring Action spread the Terror of his Name through Africa and Asia, which had for a long while been formidable in Europe. From Tunis he went to Tripoli, and concluded a Peace with that Government. Thence he returned to Tunis, and threatening to do farther Execution, the Inhabitants implored his Mercy from their Works, and begged him to grant them a Peace, which he did on Terms glorious and profitable for his Country d.

THE other Fleet being also in readiness, and composed of about thirty Ships of War, and a convenient Number of Transports; the Protector resolved they should fail in the Month of

Life of Blake, Bates's History.

Wie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 345.

Life of Blake, Bates's History.

Heath's Chronicle, p. 374.

Heath's Chronicle, p. 374.

December, 1654. Admiral Penn had the chief Command of this Fleet, and under him were Vice-Admiral Goodson and Rear-Admiral Blagge. The Commander of the Land-Forces was Colonel Venables, an old Officer, who, as well as the Admiral, was fecretly in the King's Interest, and intended to have laid hold of this Opportunity to reftore him. The Troops confifted of about five Thousand Men, amongst whom many were Royalists, and the rest so little satisfied with the Protector's Administration, that one great End of this Expedition was to be rid of them . Venables had defired of Cromwell, that great Care might be taken in furnishing Provisions, Arms, and Ammunition; that his Forces might be properly chosen, and that himself might not be fettered by his Instructions. In all these he soon found himself disappointed, his Provision was not only short in Quantity, but very bad in its Kind; Arms and Ammunition were very sparingly supplied, and in a Manner fitter for Shew than Service. His Troops were either raw or Invalids; and by his Instructions he was tied up from doing any Thing without the Confent of others. Before he had absolute Knowledge of these Particulars, he was hurried on board at Portsmouth, whence the Fleet immediately failed for Barbadoes 2.

THE Fleet arrived in Carlifle Bay on the 29th of January, 1655, and were very joyfully received by all the Inhabitants of the Island of Barbadoes, where they staid some Time, in order to recruit, and make the necessary Preparations for their intended Descent on the Island of Hispaniola. We have been taught blindly to admire the Wisdom and Conduct of Cromwell in his Enterprizes; but certainly this was the worst managed that ever our Nation undertook. General Venables found himself deficient in all forts of Necessaries, and, which was worse, found Admiral Penn very little inclined to afford him even the Affistance that was in his Power. He expostulated with him to no Purpose, but made the Wretchedness of his and their Condition so apparent, that one of their Fellow-Commissioners said plainly, he doubted they were betrayed. It was, however, too late to look back, and befides, abundance of Volunteers reforted to Barbadoes from all our Plantations, in order to share the Riches that were to be taken from the Spaniards; fo that

Clarendon's History, p. 673. Heath's Chronicle, p. 365. Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 185. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 349. The only just and genuine Account of this Expedition is to be found in Burchet's Naval History, which was drawn up at the Time, from the Examinations of Penn, Venables, and their Officers.

Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 185.

Venables faw himself under a Necessity of proceeding, notwithstanding he was thoroughly satisfied they were in no Condition

to proceed h.

FROM Barbadoes the Fleet failed on the last of March to St. Christopher's, where they met with another Supply of Voluntiers; fo that when they embarked for Hispaniola, Venables had under his Command the greatest Body of European Troops that had ever been feen in that Part of the World, the Army confifting of very near 10,000 Men. It must, however, be observed that they were in the worst Temper in the World for making Conquests. Most of them, when they left England, did it with a View to make their Fortunes; but now the Commiffioners (of whom Venables indeed was one, but of a different Opinion from the rest) told them, that every Penny of their Plunder was to be accounted for, and that they could only allow them a Fortnight's Pay by Way of Equivalent. This had like to have thrown them all into a Mutiny, and it was with much ado, that the Officers pacified them with a Promise of six Weeks Pay, which the Commissioners, however, would not be brought to confirm; and in this Situation they were, when they

embarked for Hispaniola i.

They arrived before the City of St. Domingo, and General Venables proposed that they should fail directly into the Harbour, which, however, was not agreed to by the Sea-Officers, who proposed landing at the River Hine; for which Purpose Part of the Squadron was detached under the Command of Vice-Admiral Goodson, who when at Sea declared he had no Pilots to conduct the Ships into the Mouth of the River, and therefore, the Troops were compelled (notwithstanding General Venables protested against it) to land at the West Point, from whence they had forty Miles to march through a thick woody Country without any Guide; infomuch, that Numbers of Men and Horses, through Fatigue, Extremity of Heat, and Want of Water were destroyed. After four Days March, the Army came to the Place where they might have been first put on Shore; but by that time the Enemy had drawn together the whole Force of the Island, and had recovered from their first Surprize. Colonel Buller, who had landed with his Regiment near Hine River, and had Orders to remain there till the Army joined him, thought fit, on the coming of Cox the Guide, to march away; and for Want of this Guide, the General and his Forces marched ten or twelve Miles out of their Road. Exasperated

Heath's Chronicle, p. 365. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 349. Heath's Chronicle, p. 369.

Exasperated with these Disappointments, and the Hardships they had undergone, the Regiment of Seamen under the Command of Admiral Goodson mutinied first, and then the Land-Troops; so that the General had much ado to prevail on them to ford the River. At length, Colonel Buller and Cox the Guide joined them, and promised to conduct them to a Place where they might be supplied with Water; but this Colonel taking the Liberty of straggling for the Sake of Pillage, the Spaniards attacked him, and in one of these Skirmishes Cox, their only Guide, was killed; yet the Spaniards were at last repulsed, and

purfued within Cannon-Shot of the Town k.

In this distressed Condition a Council of War was called, wherein after mature Deliberation it was resolved to march to the Harbour in the best manner they could, which with much Difficulty they effected. There they staid three or four Days to furnish themselves with Provisions and other Necessaries, and then with a fingle Mortar-Piece marched to reduce the Fort. The Van-guard was commanded by Adjutant-General Fackson, who as foon as he was attacked by the Spaniards ran away and his Troops after him. The Passage through the Woods being very narrow, they pressed on the General's Regiment, who in vain endeavoured to stop them with their Pikes. They likewise disordered Major-General Haines's Regiment, which gave the Enemy, who followed very eagerly and afforded no Quarter, great Advatage; so that the Major-General and the bravest of the Officers, who preferred Death before Flight, ended their Days here. At last, General Venables and Vice-Admiral Goodfon, at the Head of their Regiments, forced the Run-a-ways into the Wood, obliged the Enemy to retire, and kept their own Ground, notwithstanding the Fire from the Fort was very warm 1.

By this Time the Forces were so much satigued and discouraged, that they could not be brought to play the Mortar. The General, though reduced to a very low Condition, caused himself to be led from Place to Place, to encourage them; till fainting at last, he was forced to leave the Care to Major-General Fortescue, who did what he could to revive their Spirits, but to very little Purpose.

Soon after it was resolved in a Council of War, that since the Enemy had fortissed all the Passes, and the Army was in the utmost Distress for Want of Water, they should march to a Place where they were informed a Supply of that and other Necessaries had been put ashore from the Ships. In this March the Soldiers followed their Officers till they found themselves in Danger, and then lest them; insomuch, that the Commissioners owned, by a Letter they wrote to the Governor of Barbadoes, that, had not the Enemy been as fearful as our own Men were, they might in a few Days have destroyed the whole Army; and withal they let him know, that those who had occasioned the greatest Disorder, were those of Barbadoes and St. Christopher's; insomuch, that they, the said Commissioners, who were Penn, Winslow, and Butler, had resolved to leave the Place, and try what could be done against the Island of Jamaica. Such was the End of this Expedition, after having been on Shore from the sourcenth of April to the first of May, when this Resolution

of failing to Jamaica was taken m.

THE Army was accordingly in a little Time embarked; but the fick and wounded Men were left on the bare Decks for 48 Hours, without either Meat, Drink, or Dreffing, infomuch that Worms bred in their Sores: and even while they were on Shore, the Provisions sent to them were not watered but candied with Salt, notwithstanding they had not Water sufficient to quench their Thirst. Nay, after their Misfortunes on Shore, Venables averred, that Penn gave Rear-Admiral Blagge Orders not to furnish them with any more Provisions of what Kind foever; fo that they eat up all the Dogs, Asses, and Horses in the Camp, and some of them such Things as were in themselves poisonous, of which about forty died. Before the Forces were embarked, Adjutant-General Jackson was tried at a Court-Martial, and not only fentenced to be cashiered, and his Sword broken over his Head, but to do the Duty of a Swabber, in keeping clean the Hospital-Ship; a Punishment suitable to his notorious Cowardice n.

The Descent on Jamaica was better managed than that on Hispaniola; for immediately on their landing, which was on the third of May, General Venables, issued his Orders, that if any Man should be sound attempting to run away, the next Man to him should put him to Death; which if he sailed to do, he should be liable to a Court-Martial. The next Day they attacked a Fort which they carried, and were then preparing to storm the Town of St. Jago, which the Spanish Inhabitants prevented by a timely Treaty; but before the General would listen to any Propositions of Peace, he insisted, that a certain Quantity of Provisions should be sent them daily, which was punctually performed; and this gave his Soldiers

m Burchet's Naval History, p. 393. n Ibid. p. 394. Burchet's Naval History, p. 394. Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath's Chronicle.

Strength and Spirits; and in a short Time their Negotiations ended in a compleat Surrender of the Island to the English, as appears by the Articles which the Reader may find at large in feveral of our Historians P. General Venables, finding himself in a very weak Condition, defired the Confent of the Commissioners to open their ultimate Instructions, which after mature Deliberation they yielded to. In these he found he had Power in case of Necessity to resign his Command, which he did accordingly to General Fortescue; upon which Admiral Penn followed his Example, and delivered up his Charge to Vice-Admiral Goodfan, with whom he left a good Squadron of Ships, and with the rest of the Fleet returned to England. In their Passage home they fell in with the Spanish Plate-Fleet in the Gulph of Florida, but without attacking it; whether through want of Will, or of Instructions, at this Distance it is hard to determine q.

IMMEDIATELY after the Arrival of Penn, and Venables, which was in the Month of September, 1655, they were both committed to the Tower, to fatisfy the Clamours of the People, who then (as it often happens) laid the greatest blame on him who least deserved it . All that the Protector insisted on was, that they should confess their Faults in leaving their respective Charges; and he promised to release them upon their Submission. This Penn quickly did, and was accordingly difcharged; but Venables absolutely refused it, always insisting that he had committed no Fault, fince in case of Inability to execute his Duty, his Instructions permitted him to relign his Command . His Memory has been very hardly treated I think with little Reason; for as to what is said of his suffering the Spaniards to carry off their Effects from the City of St. Fago to the Mountains, and thereby defrauding the Soldiers of their Plunder; it appears to be a gross Calumny, from several Reafons t. For first, admitting the Fact to be true, that they did carry off their Effects, this could prove no Loss to the Soldiers, but quite the contrary; fince if they had now fallen into their Hands, the Commissioners would have seized them for the Protector's Use, in pursuance of the Order before-mentioned. Next, the General could do nothing in this Respect without

P Burchet abridges them to four, in the Page last cited. See also Whitlock, Kennet, Rapin, &c. ⁹ Heath's Chronicle, p 376. ^r Clarendon's History, p. 674. Heath's Chronicle, p. 376. Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 186. Whitlock, Ludlow, Bates's History of the Troubles in England, &c. ⁸ Burchet's Naval History, p. 395. ⁸ British Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 306.

the Confent of the other Commissioners; and lastly, it appears by the most authentic Account we have of this Affair, that the Soldiers were to far from being diffatisfied with his Conduct. that they relied upon him to represent their Grievances at home, and to procure Redress; which he did as far as was in his Pow-The Reason of his being first aspersed, was, a Persuation that he was a Confident and Creature of Cromwell's; which is fo far from being true, that the very contrary is certain. The Protector hated and was jealous of him, and conferred on him this Command merely to get him out of his Way w. The Truth is, the Fault lay in the Protector's Scheme, which was to have raised a large Supply from this Expedition. This induced him to tie the Commissioners down to hinder the Soldiers from keeping their Plunder upon Pain of Death; and their infifting upon this had like to have been the Ruin of the whole Undertaking *. The Reader must discern the Justice of these Remarks from the Facts before laid down, which are indifputable; and to speak Truth freely, and give Mens Characters impartially ought to be the Study of an Historian, and will, I hope, justify me for infisting so long on this Head.

ADMIRAL Blake's Fleet continued all this Time in the Mediterranean, and was now in the Road to Cadiz, where he received the greatest Civilities from the Spaniards, and lived on the best Terms imaginable with them; for, till the Blow was struck at Jamaica, Cromwell carefully concealed his Defign to make War. When this was known, the Spaniards declared immediately against him, and seized the Effects of all the English Merchants in their Dominions to an immense Value; an Incident which feems not to have been fufficiently confidered by those who cry up the Protector's Conduct so highly y. This War, as we have before observed, was at the Bottom undertaken for his own Advantage, from a Prospect of supplying his Coffers with Money, without putting him under the Necessity of calling Parliaments z. It is true, that in public Declarations he talked much of his Regard to Trade, and his Concern for the Freedom of Navigation: and no doubt he was fincere in this, so far as it was consistent with his own Power,

and

[&]quot;All these Facts the Reader will find in the copious Account of this Voyage, published in Burchet. "Clarendon's History, p. 673. Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 184, 185. Heath's Chronicle, p. 369. "Burchet's Naval History, p. 390, 391. "Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath's Chronicle, Kennet, Echard, Ludlow, Rapin." Bates's History of the Troubles in England, part ii. p. 206. Vol. II.

and not a Jot beyond it; otherwise he would have considered the Profits of our National Trade with Spain, which were at that Time very great, the French having never interfered, and the Dutch being utterly difliked by the Spaniards. At least he should have taken care by some timely Hint, to enable so great a Body as the Spanish Merchants to have withdrawn their Effects; and the Neglect of this was not the Effect of any Inattention, a Thing impossible while Thurles had the Management of his Affairs, but the pure Consequence of public Interest clashing with his private Views; and, therefore, throughout the whole Transaction, he appears to have been a great Politician, but no Patriot. I fay nothing as to his Breach of the Law of Nations, in attacking the Spaniards without any previous Declaration; because in the first Place, this was not very confistent with the Principles on which his Government was founded; and next, the Spaniards had broke through all Rules of true Policy as well as Decorum, in acknowledging and courting him as they did; and therefore, felt no more than the just Effects of their own Refinements.

WHEN nothing more was to be got by concealing his Intentions, the Protector fent Mr. Montague with a small Squadron of Men of War into the Mediterranean to join Blake, and to carry him fresh Instructions; the Principal of which was to block up the Port of Cadiz, in which there was a Fleet of forty Sail, intended to fecure the Flota: and at the fame Time the going out of this Fleet was prevented, the English were to use their utmost Diligence to hinder the Flota from coming in without sharing in the Riches on Board a. Blake and Montague executed their Orders with equal Skill and Industry, taking Care to obtain a Supply of fresh Provisions and Water, as often as they had Occasion, from the Portugal Coast. Thither they had failed with the greatest Part of the Fleet, when the Squadron from the Indies approached Cadiz. Rear-Admiral Stayner with feven Frigates plied to and fro, till these eight large Ships were in View, which he presently knew to be what they really were; whereas they took his Vessels, because they lay very low in the Water, for Fishermen. This gave him an Opportunity of coming up with and fighting them, though the Weather hindered four of his Frigates from acting. Yet with The Speaker, The Bridgewater, and The Plymouth, he did his Business, and after an obstinate Engagement sunk two, ran two more a-ground, and took two of the Spanish Vessels, so that two only escaped. In one of those was the Marquess of Ba-

^{*} Clarendon's History, p. 676. Heath's Chronicle, p. 381.

jadox, of the Family of Lopez, who had been Governor of Peru for the King of Spain, who was killed in the Fight with his Wife and a Daughter: the eldest Son and his Brother were saved, and brought safe to the Generals with this Prize, wherein were two Millions of Pieces of Eight; and as much there was in one of them that was sunk. The Admiral who carried the Flag (for concealing the richest Ship) with the Portugal Prize recovered the Shore. Soon after General Montague with the young Marques, and Part of the Fleet to convoy the Silver, returned into England, and delivered the Bullion into the Mint; and the young Marques was set at Liberty. For this a Thanksgiving, with a Narrative to be read thereon, was appointed by the Parliament, who issued their Declaration of War against

Spain b.

THE Protector took a great deal of Care of his new Conquest, and within a very short Time after the Return of Penn and Venables, sent a considerable Supply thither, and a Squadron of Men of War. These Troops were commanded by Colonel Humfreys, but Major Sedgwick went with him, and had a Commission to be Governor of the Island c. When they came thither, they found Things in a much better Posture than they expected. Colonel D'oyly, to whom Fortescue on account of Sickness had refigned his Command, was so indefatigable, that he subdued all the Opposition he met with, and drove the Spaniards out of the Island, notwithstanding they had fortified themselves in two or three Places very strongly, and had been abundantly supplied with Artillery and Ammunition from Cuba 4. It is easy to account for the different Behaviour of these Men here, and at Hispaniela. They fought there for the Profit of others; but at this Time for their own. They were then utterly unacquainted with the Climate, and so less able to bear it; whereas they were now in some Measure seasoned to it : yet this Colonel D'oyly who did so much for the Colony, was to be removed at all Events from the Government, because he had been formerly a Cavalier. Sedgwick, however, who was to have been his Successor, quickly died, and so did Fortescue; and Humfreys, according to his Orders, returned home with a fmall Fleet . Upon this, the Protector dispatched another 1000 Men from Scotland with one Colonel Brayne, who was to take the Government out of D'oyly's Hands: but he likewise dying

b Clarendon, ubi supra. Heath, Bate, Whitlock, Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Kennet, Rapin. 'Heath's Chronicle, p. 377. English Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 308. 'Idem, ibid. Heath's Chronicle, p. 383.

dying almost as soon as he set his Foot on the Island, D'oyly still continued in the Exercise of his Authority, and with great Skill and Integrity managed all Things there to the Time of the Restauration; and then Jamaica was become a very considerable, and, for the Time it had been settled, a very populous Plantation.

WE are now to return to the Proceedings of the Fleet in the Mediterranean. Admiral Blake continued to cruize before the Haven of Cadiz, and in the Streights, till the Month of April, 1657; and having then Information of another Plate-Fleet which had put into the Haven of Santa Cruz, in the Island of Teneriff; he immediately failed thither, and arrived before the Town the 20th of April's. Here he found the Flota, confisting of fix Galleons richly laden, and ten other Veffels. latter lay within the Port, with a strong Barricado before them; the Galleons without this Boom, because they drew too much Water to lie within it. The Port itself was well fortified, having on the North a strong Castle well supplied with Artillery, and feven Forts united by a Line of Communication, manned The Spanish Governor thought the Place with Musketeers. fo secure, and his own Dispositions so well made, that when the Master of a Dutch Ship desired Leave to fail, because he apprehended Blake would prefently attack the Ships; the Spaniards answered tartly, Get you gone, if you will; and let Blake come, if he dares h. The Admiral, after viewing the Enemy's Preparations, called a Council of War, wherein it was refolved to attempt destroying the Enemy's Ships; for it was impossible to bring them off: and to this End he fent Captain Stayner with a Squadron to attack them, who foon forced his Passage into the Bay, while other Frigates played on the Forts and Line, and hindred them from giving the Ships much Difturbance. Stayner's Squadron was quickly supported by Blake with the whole Fleet, who boarded the Spanish Galleons, and in a few Hours made himself Master of them all, and then set them on Fire; so that the whole Spanish Fleet was burnt down to the Water, except two Ships which funk outright; and then the Wind veering to the S. W. he passed with his Fleet safe out of the Port again, losing in this dangerous Attempt no more than 48 Men killed, and having about 120 wounded i. It was without

f See the whole of these Transactions in a Treatise entitled, Jamaica viewed, with all the Ports, Harbours, &c. by E. H. i. e. Edmund Hickeringhill, London, 1661, 8vo. g Heath's Chronicle, p. 391. Clarendon, Burchet. h Heath's Chronicle, as beforecited. Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath, Bate, Burchet, Rapin.

able

without Question, the boldest undertaking of its kind that had ever been performed; and the Spaniards who are romantic enough in their own Conduct, were so much astonished at his, that they quite lost their Spirits, and thenceforward never thought themselves safe, either from Numbers or Fortisications k.

When the Protector had the News of this glorious Success, he immediately sent it by his Secretary to the Parliament then sitting, and they, on hearing the Particulars, ordered a Day to be set apart for a Thanksgiving, a Ring of 500 l. Value to the General, as a Testimony of his Country's Gratitude; a Present of 100 l. to the Captain who brought the News, and Thanks to all the Officers and Soldiers concerned in the Action!. Captain Richard Stayner returning soon after was knighted by the Protector: nor was it long before Blake and the Fleet returned, which put an end to the Spanish War by Sea; for the Protector had lately entered into a closer Conjunction with France, and in Consequence thereof, sent over a Body of Land-Forces into Flanders, where they assisted in taking the Fortress and Port of Dunkirk, which was delivered into the Hands of the English, who kept it till after the Restauration.

THERE had been for some Years a very sharp War carried on in the North, between the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, which in its Consequences was like to affect the rest of Europe, especially the Maritime Powers n. The Dutch saw that their Trade to the Baltick would be ruined if the King of Sweden prevailed, who was now become the Superior both by Land and Sea; they therefore refolved to fend a Flect to the Affiffance of the Danes, which they did, and thereby faved Copenhagen o. In England it was judged to be of no less Consequence to succour the Swedes, yet it was not thought proper to avow the Defign as the Dutch had done; and, therefore, Sir George Aysoue, who was drawn out of his Retirement to command a Stout Squadron fent upon this Occasion, had Orders to accept a Commission as Admiral from the King of Sweden, which would have enabled him to act more effectually for his Service, than the Dutch did in Favour of their Allies. This was in the Year 1657; but it was so late in the Season, that he was not

Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 603.

Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 603.

Burchet, Rapin.

Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol.

i. p. 383. Histoire de Holland, par M. de la Neuville, tom. ini. p.

Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 521.

able to reach Copenhagen for the Ice ?. The next Year Cromwell died; and it was generally conceived, that the English would have meddled no farther in the Affair 4. It proved otherwise, however; for a stout Fleet was fitted out, and sent to the Baltick, under the Command of Admiral Montague, who had acquired a great Reputation by ferving in Conjunction with Blake. He had, besides his Commission of Admiral, another, whereby he was joined with the Ambassadors Sidney and Honeywood! He arrived at Copenhagen, and managed his Affairs with great Dexterity: for he avoided coming to Blows, that he might not begin a new Dutch War; compelled the King of Sweden, by talking to him in a proper Stile, to think of Peace, to which he was otherwise very little inclined; and while he did all this, and executed effectually the Offices with which he was entrusted he entertained a secret Correspondence with the King, and disposed all Things on board the Fleet for his Service '. When Measures were concerted for Sir George Booth's Rifing, which was the last Attempt made in Favour of the King before his Restauration, Notice of it was given to Montague at Copenhagen, who instantly resolved to return to England. His Fellow-Ambassadors, who were hearty Republicans, had by this Time gained some Intelligence of his Intercourse with the King, and therefore intended to have seized him in case he came ashore t. He was wise enough to put it out of their Power, and took care also to run no Risk in returning without Orders; for having called a Council of War, he complained to them that Provisions grew short, and that it would be a very difficult Thing to supply themselves in that Part of the World, there being a Dutch Fleet there at the same Time. Upon this, it was unanimously resolved to fail home immediately, and this Refolution was no fooner taken, than the Admiral weighed Anchor and returned to England ".

On his Arrival he found Things in quite another Situation than he expected, Sir George Booth had been defeated and taken Prisoner, and the old Parliament was again restored; so that Admiral Montague, though he had forty Sail of stout Ships under his Command, and the Seamen much at his Devotion, yet thought it safest to leave the Fleet, and to come up freely and give an Account of his Conduct to the Parliament; which he did in September, 1659, and was afterwards allowed to retire

P Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath, Basnage, De la Neuville.

9 Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 553.

1 Chronicle, p. 416.

1 Clarendon's History, p. 723.

1 Idem, ibid.

1 Heath's Chronicle, p. 426.

to his House in the Country w. The Command of the Fleet was then entrusted with Admiral Lawfon, who continued in the Channel with a larger Squadron of Ships than ordinary, till General Monk came out of Scotland. As foon as the Defigns of that great Man began to ripen, he proposed that Montague should be recalled and restored to the Command of the Navy; which was accordingly done, and the supreme Power in Maritime Affairs vested in him and Monk . Admiral Montague went inflantly to his Command, and was surprized to find that Lawfon and the rest of the Officers were much better inclined to the intended Change than he expected, and therefore he did not much dissemble either his Inclinations or Intentions. On the 4th of April, 1660, he received his Majesty's Letter, and caused it to be read publickly in the Fleet; immediately after which, without waiting for the Parliament's Orders, he failed for Holland, and fent an Officer to the Hague to inform the

King that he was ready to receive him y.

WE have thus without entering deep into Politics run through the Naval Transactions of this memorable Period, and have now only the Lives of the most eminent Seamen who flourished therein to employ our Care. But, previous to this, it may not be improper to observe, that it was wholly owing to the Unanimity of our Sailors, and their want of Attention to Domestic Broils, that we obtained so many glorious Victories at Sea, and spread the Terror of the English Name abroad, when the English Nation at home was on the brink of Destruction: that the Parliament followed the King's Steps exactly, in claiming the Honour of the Flag, afferting the Sovereignty of the Seas, and looking with a jealous Eye on the Encroachments of the Dutch and French: that in all our Naval Expeditions we came off with Honour, and mostly with Victory; whereas in conjunct Expeditions, wherein Land were joined with Sea-Forces, we were less fortunate: That our Readiness in protecting Trade, and Resolution to revenge any Insults on our Honour, contributed not a little to the extending our Commerce, and raising our Reputation. Lastly, that these Advantages were all the Nation had to ballance a Multitude of Missortunes, our Country being haraffed and destroyed by contending Parties, our Industry discouraged by so long a War, and most of our Manufactures ruined. On the other Hand, the iniquitous Oppressions,

Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath, Burchet, Rapin, &c. * Heath's Chronicle, p. 439. Clarendon, Whitlock, Ludlow's Memoirs, &c. * Clarendon's History, p. 735.

Oppressions, the hypocritical Dissimulation, the scandalous Outrages on our most excellent Constitution, were so notorious, that we must have become very despicable in the Eyes of our Neighbours, but for the Courage and Conduct of our Seamen 2. Amongst whom all Parties have agreed to give the first Rank to One who brought no other Qualities than good Sense, and a bold Spirit, when he assumed the Command of the English Fleet, and yet soon became the ablest Sailor in it, and as such claims our Regard.

MEMOIRS of Admiral BLAKE.

H Is Descent was very honourable, the Family from which he sprung having been long settled at Planssield, in the Parish of Spaxton in Somersetsbire. Mr. Humphry Blake, his Father, was a Spanish Merchant, and having acquired a considerable Fortune for the Times in which he lived, bought a small Estate in the Neighbourhood of Bridgwater, where he had been long settled. He had several Children, of whom the eldest, Robert, is he whose Life we are now to write. He was born in the Month of August, 1598, and during his Father's Life-time, was educated at a Free-School in Bridgwater b. He afterwards removed to Oxford, where he was first a Member of St. Alban's-Hall, and next of Wadham-College. After taking a Degree, and meeting with more than one Disappointment in his Endeavours to obtain Academical Preferment, he left the University when he had staid there seven Years.

During his Residence in that Seat of the Muses, he sufficiently displayed his Temper, which in Reality was that of a Humourist, usually grave and in Appearance morose; but inclined in an Evening, and with particular Friends to be very chearful, though still with a Tincture of Severity, which inclined him to bear hard on the Pide of Courtiers, and the Power of Churchmen; which, as the Noble Historian well observes, rendered him very agreeable to the Good-Fellows in those Days; though whether there was any Ground from this Disposition of his to conclude him a Republican, is, I think, not easy to be determined d. This is certain, that his Reputation for Probity, and

his

Philip Warwick's Memoirs. a Lives British and Foreign, vol. ii. p. 75. Wood's Fast. Oxon. vol. i col. 203. b Clarendon's History, p. 681. Wood, ubi supra. c Lives English and Foreign, as before, Wood, Bate. d Clarendon's History, p. 681.

his known Aversion to Persecution, engaged the Puritans to promote his Election as a Burgess for Bridgwater, in the Parlia-

ment which fat in April, 1640 .

THAT Assembly was dissolved too early for Mr. Blake to make any Discovery of his Talents as a Senator; and in the long Parliament, which sat soon after, he lost his Election. When the War broke out between the King and Parliament, he declared for the latter, and took Arms very early in their Service; but where, and in what Quality, is not very clear. However, he was very soon made a Captain of Dragoons, in which Station he shewed himself as able and active an Officer as any in the Service, and as such was made use of upon all Occasions, where either Boldness or Dexterity were particularly requisite s.

In 1643, we find him at Bristol, under the Command of Colonel Fiennes, who intrusted him with a little Fort on the Line, in which he first gave the World a Proof of his Military Virtues; for on the 26th of July, when Prince Rupert attacked that important Place, and the Governor had agreed to surrender it upon Articles, Mr. Blake still held out his Fort, and killed several of the King's Forces. This exasperated Prince Rupert to such a Degree, that he talked of hanging him, had not some Friends interposed, and excused him on account of his want of Experience in War, and at their Request, though with much Difficulty, he was at last prevailed on to give

up the Fort 8.

AFTER this he served in Somersetshire, under the Command of Popham, who was Governor of Lyme, to whose Regiment Blake was Lieutenant-Colonel. As he was much beloved in his Country, and as the greatest Part of the Regiment were Somersetshire Men, he had so good an Intelligence in those Parts, that he in Conjunction with Sir Robert Pye, surprized Taunton for the Parliament, where he found ten Pieces of Cannon, and a great deal of Ammunition. In 1644, he was conflituted Governor of that Place, which was of the utmost Importance, being the only Garrison the Parliament had in the West. The Works about it were far from being strong. He had no very numerous Garison; yet by keeping a strict Discipline, and treating the Townsmen well, he made a shift to keep it, though no great Care was taken to furnish him with Supplies, and notwithstanding he was sometimes besieged, and often blocked up by the

Lives English and Foreign, vol. ii. p. 76. Wood's Fast. Oxoniens. vol. i. col. 204. Whitlock, Rushworth, Bate, Heath, Warwick. Clarendon's History, p. 681.

the King's Forces. At length Goring came before the Place with near 10,000 Men, and pressed Blake so close, that he carried all the Outworks, and actually took from him a Part of the Town. However, he held out the rest of it and the Castle with wonderful Obstinacy till Relief came; for which extraordinary Service the Parliament gave the Garrison a Bounty of 2000 l. and Colonel Blake a Present of 500 l. All who have wrote of that unhappy War, allow this to have been a very gal-

lant and Soldier-like Action b.

COLONEL Blake, in April, 1646, marched with a Detachment from the Garrison and reduced Dunster-Castle, a Seat belonging to the antient Family of Lutterel, the Troops posted therein having given great Disturbance to the Country; which was the last military Atchievement he performed during this War. When the Parliament voted that no further Addresses should be made to the King, Blake, as Governor of Taunton, was prevailed upon to join in an Address of Thanks to the House of Commons, for having taken this Step i. I say prevailed upon; because this could never have been agreeable to his own Sentiments, if what the Writer of his Life tells us be true, that, when the King came to be tried, Blake disapproved that Meafure as unjust in itself, and illegal in its Nature; insomuch, that he was frequently heard to fay, He would as freely venture bis Life to fave the King, as ever he did to ferve the Parliament k. This Expression however, we must attribute rather to the Generofity of his Temper, than to his Political Principles; fince, after the King was murdered, he fell in roundly with the Republican Party, and next to Cromwell and Ireton he was the ablest and most successful Officer they had. One would wonder how so honest and disinterested a Person could take a Share in fuch Measures as were certainly contrived by Men of quite another Stamp: but it feems, he satisfied himself, in all these Changes, with the Integrity of his own Purpose of adhering as far as he was able to his Country's interest, and exerting his utmost Capacity to exalt her Glory. These though noble Qualifications of themselves, gave Men of less Honour and more Cunning, an Opportunity of using his great Abilities and undaunted Courage, for the furtherance of their own private Views.

It is not easy to guess what induced the Parliament to make Choice of him, who had always served as a Horse-Officer, to have

Rushworth's Historical Collections, vol. vi. p. 28. Lives English and Foreign, vol. ii. p. 85. Wood's Fast. Oxon. vol. i. col. 204. Lives English and Foreign, vol. ii. p. 87. Lives English and Foreign, vol. ii. p. 87.

have the supreme Command of the Fleet. All our Historians and Memoir-Writers are filent as to their Motive, and therefore, I hope the Reader will excuse me, if I hazard a Conjecture on this Head. The Parliament had lately taken upon themselves the Rank, though not the Title, of States-General, and, therefore, might be inclined to make use of Deputies for the Direction both of Fleets and Armies, who were to judge in great Points, and to be obeyed by fuch as were skilful in their Profession, either as Seamen or Soldiers; for in their Judgment to command was one Thing, and to act another. His first Service was in driving Prince Rupert's Fleet, from the Irish Coast, and then following him into the Mediterranean. This gave his Masters high Satisfaction, both in Respect to his Capacity, and to his Fidelity in their Service, which they likewise acknowledged very obligingly 1. His Conduct indeed was equal, prudent, and successful; for it not only put an End to that kind of piratical War which did so much Damage to Trade, but also struck such a Terror into the Spaniards and Portuguese, as to prevent all those Disputes which would have otherwise naturally happened on the Appearance of fo new a Power in Europe as the Common-wealth of England.

In the Month of February, 1651, Blake in his Return homewards took a French Man of War of forty Guns; in Respect to which Action there happened some Circumstances which deserve to be mentioned. The Admiral commanded the Captain on board him, and asked him if he was willing to lay down his Sword? he answered, he was not: upon which Blake generously bid him return to his Ship, and fight it out as long as he was able. The Captain took him at his Word, fought him bravely for about two Hours, and then fubmitting. went again on board Blake's Ship, first kissed, and then presented his Sword to the Admiral upon his Knees. This Ship, with four more, the Admiral fent into England; and not long after arriving at Plymouth with his Squadron, he there received the Thanks of the Parliament for his Vigilance and Valour in his Station, and was constituted one of the Lord Wardens of the Cinque-Ports, as an additional Mark of their Confidence and

Favour m.

In March following, Colonel Blake, Colonel Popham, and Colonel Deane, or any two of them, were appointed by Act of Parliament to be Admirals and Generals of the Fleet for the Year ensuing, in which he reduced the Islands of Scilly, Guern
Sey.

Whitlock, Heath, Bate, &c. Lives vol. ii. p. 92, 93.

m Lives English and Foreign,

fey, and Ferfey, to the Obedience of the Parliament; and, as a new Mark of Honour, he was on the 25th of November elected one of the Council of State. When the Necessity of a Dutch War became apparent, the Parliament gave the highest Testimony of their Sense of his Merit, and Confidence in his Conduct, by constituting him, in March, 1652, fole General of the Fleet for nine Months. But though I mention this as a Proof that they were apprehensive of the War, yet, as I have faid elsewhere, there is no Appearance of their judging a Rupture to be fo near as it really was; otherwise they would certainly have fent Blake to Sea with a better Fleet ". We have already given a distinct Account of the first Battle in the Downs on the 19th of May, 1652, excepting some Circumstances which personally relate to Blake, and which were therefore referved for this Place. When he observed Van Tromp bore nearer his Fleet than he had any Occasion to do, he saluted him with two Guns without Ball, to put him in Mind of striking Sail; upon which, the Dutchman in Contempt fired on the contrary Side. Blake fired a fecond and a third Gun, which Van Tromp answered with a Broad-fide; the English Admiral perceiving his Intention to fight, fingled out himself from the rest of the Fleet to treat with Van Tromp about that Point of Honour, and to prevent the Effusion of Blood, and a national Quarrel: When Blake approached nearer to Van Tromp, he and the rest of his Fleet, contrary to the Law of Nations (the English Admiral coming with a Design to treat) fired on Blake with whole Broad-fides. The Admiral was in his Cabin drinking with some of his Officers, little expecting to be so saluted, when the Shot broke the Windows of his Ship, and shattered the Stern, which put him into a vehement Passion, and curling his Whiskers, as he used to do when he was angry, he commanded his Men to answer the Dutch in their kind, saying, when his Heat was somewhat over, He took it very ill of Van Tromp, that he should take his Ship for a Bawdy-House and break his Windows. Blake fingly fustained the Shock of the Dutch Fleet for some Time, till his own Ships and Major Bourne could join him; and then the Engagement grew hot and bloody on the Enemy's Side, till Night put an End to it .

AFTER this Battle Blake lay in the Downs for a confiderable Time, which he spent in repairing and augmenting his Fleet, and

de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 254. Heath's Chronicle, p. 314. Vie Lives English and Foreign, vol. ii. p. 99.

and in detaching small Squadrons to cruize upon the Enemy. About the beginning of June, finding he had Force enough to undertake any Service, he caused a solemn Fast to be held on board his Ships, to implore the Bleffing of God on their Arms; and encouraged his Seamen by the Example of his Zeal on this Occasion, as much as he had ever done by his personal Bravery in a Time of Action P. In the Space of this Month he fent forty rich Prizes into the River, and so effectually ruined the Dutch Trade, and broke the Spirits of fuch as were appointed to support it, that most of their Vessels declined coming through the Channel, even under Convoy; but chose rather to put into French Ports, land their Cargoes there, and afterwards transport them to Holland, by Land or Water, as they could 9. In the beginning of July, finding Sir George Ayscue returned from Barbadoes, and a Force sufficient to guard the Downs, he refolved to fail Northwards, to execute a Defign he had long meditated of destroying the Herring Fishing, which he thought would have put an immediate End to the War, by convincing the Dutch of the Folly of disputing our Sovereignty in our own This appears to have been the most judicious Scheme laid down through the whole War; because it tended to clear the Ground of the Quarrel, and to shew the Dutch the Folly of disputing with a Nation who had it in their Power to distress them at any Time in the tenderest Part that which afforded a Subliftance to many, and was the main Source of Wealth to all'.

On the 2d of July, Blake bore away to the North, and quickly fell in with the Dutch Fishing-Vessels, which were there in great Numbers, under the Protection of twelve Men of War. Blake attacked their Convoy, and they, knowing the Importance of their Charge, and having taken on board a great Supply of fresh Men from the Vessels under their Care, fought bravely, and sold their freedom dearly; but at last were every one taken, which lest the Fishery entirely at the Admiral's Mercy, who upon this Occasion shewed the Rectitude of his Heart, and the Solidity of his Understanding; for having first threatened these Busses with utter Destruction, if ever they were found there again without Leave, he afterwards freely permitted them to compleat their Ladings, on their paying the 10th Herring,

P Heath's Chronicle, Whitlock, Ludlow.

P Heath's Chronicle, p. 322. Vie de Cromwell, Blake's Life, &c.

P Whitlock's Memorial p. 540. Heath's Chronicle, p. 322. Histoire de Holland par M. de la Neuville, tom. iii. p. 66.

Herring, which was what King Charles demanded; and where this was refused, he funk or drove away their Ships . This Service is far from being properly treated by our own Writers: but the Dutch, who felt the Weight of the Blow, have fet it in a true Light. They acknowledge the Fact, as I have flated it, in every Circumstance, except the taking the whole Convoy, of which they tell us one Ship escaped, and affign so good a Reason for it, that I am apt to think the Fact is true. The Captain fled, fay they, as foon as he heard Blake was coming; but an ingenious Author observes, that Tromp's not following Blake Time enough was the Ruin of their Fishery. And though, continues he, the Herring-fishing may appear contemptible to Strangers, or to fuch as do not reflect that Commerce is as it were the Soul of some States; yet it is of infinite Consequence in Holland, on account especially of the vast number of Ships employed therein, which amount to more than 3000 every Year t. Besides, there are an incredible Multitude of People employed in several forts of Work relating to this Fishing; infomuch that Mr. de Wit, who computed the Inhabitants of Holland at two Millions and a half, thought that near half a Million acquired a Sublistance from their Fishery . If therefore, the Parliament had purfued Blake's Scheme, and had stationed a flout Squadron on the Coast of Scotland, they must have quickly ended this War on any Terms they thought fit to prescribe.

I MUST upon this Occasion take Notice of the only Cenfure I have met with on our Admiral's Conduct, as I find it
reported by General Ludlow, who says, that some thought the
releasing the Herring-Busses, and suffering the Seamen to return safely into Holland, was not to be justified; because, by
the Help of these Vessels, we might have been enabled to erect
a Fishery, and thereby have obtained some Reparation for the
Damages sustained from the Dutch, and by detaining their Mariners they must have been exceedingly weakened and distressed w. There is, I must own, something very plausible in this
Objection; and, yet when it is thoroughly considered, I believe it will appear, that the Admiral took the better Course.
He found most of these Busses near Harbours, into which they
would have undoubtedly run, had he proceeded to extremities.
The Men on board these Vessels were between 6 and 7000.

To

Clarendon's History, p. 635. Heath's Chronicle, p. 322. Whit-lock, Kennet, Rapin. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 258. Memoirs de Jean de Wit, p. 30. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 420. This Charge is transcribed in the Columna Rostrata, p. 99.

To have destroyed so many, would have been an Act of great Cruelty, and to have taken them, considering he had already above 1000 Prisoners, would upon the whole have proved an imprudent Step; so that, considering him as a brave Man, an Englishman, and a Christian, one cannot well avoid commending him for so generous a Behaviour towards his Enemies. The Dutch Writers readily acknowledge his Courtesy and Magnanimity *, which I doubt not was approved by the Parliament, who, however they came by their Authority, used it with Honour and Moderation, and thereby set a proper Ex-

ample to the Officers they employed.

His subsequent Conduct during the Dutch War, has been already throughly accounted for; and, therefore, I shall only take Notice here of the Method our Admiral took to keep the Seamen easy, notwithstanding all the Changes that happened in the Government. He told them it was his, and their Business to act faithfully in their respective Stations, and to do their Duty to their Country, whatever Irregularities there might be in the Councils at home; and would often fay amongst his Officers, that State-Affairs were not their Province, but that they were bound to keep Foreigners from fooling us y. These Principles rendered him agreeable to all Parties, and gained him so generally the Reputation of a Patriot, that when Cromwell, in his new Model of a Parliament, left the populous Town of Bridgwater the Choice of one Representative only, they very prudently fixed on their Countryman Mr. Blake 2. He was also very acceptable to the Protector, though he was far enough from being his Creature; for Cromwell knew that he was by Principle for a Common-wealth, and, therefore, chose to employ him abroad as much as possible, knowing that his Concern for the Glory of England would influence him to do all, and even more than any other Man could be excited to by Views of Interest and Ambition 2.

WHEN he sailed in 1654 into the Mediterranean, he came in the Month of December into the Road of Cadiz, where he was received with great Respect and Civility by the Spaniards, and indeed by all Nations as well as the English, who were then in Port. A Dutch Admiral would not wear his Flag while the English Admiral was in the Harbour; one of the Victuallers attending his Fleet being separated from the rest.

Particularly Basnage, and the Writer of Tromp's Life. Lives British and Foreign, vol. ii. p. 109, and Wood says nearly the same Thing, though in other Words. Heath's Chronicle, p. 263-4 Clarendon's History, p. 681.

fell in with the French Admiral and seven Men of War, near the Streights-Mouth. The Captain of the Victualling-Sloop was ordered on board the Admiral, who enquired of him where Blake was, drank his Health with five Guns, and so wished the Captain a good Voyage. The Algerines stood in such Awe of him, that they were wont to ftop the Sally-Rovers, and in case they had any English Prisoners on board, took them out, and fent them to Blake, in hopes of obtaining his Favour b. From Cadiz he failed to Malaga, and while he lay in that Road, gave such a Testimony of Zeal for his Country's Honour, as was scarce ever equalled. Some of his Seamen going ashore, met the Host as it was carrying to some sick Person, and not only paid no Respect thereto, but laughed at those who did. The Priest highly resented this, and put the People upon revenging the Indignity; upon which, they fell on the Sailors, and beat them feverely. When they returned on board, they complained of this Usage, and the Admiral instantly sent a Trumpet to the Vice-Roy to demand the Priest who was the Author of this Infult. The Vice-Roy answered, that he had no Authority over Priests; and, therefore could not fend him. Upon this, Blake fent a fecond Message, that he would not enter into the Question, Who had Power to fend him; but that, if he was not fent within three Hours, he would infallibly burn the Town about their Ears. The Inhabitants, to fave themselves, obliged the Vice-Roy to send the Priest, who, when he came on board, excused himself to the Admiral on Account of the bad Behaviour of the Sailors. Blake told him that, if he had complained to him, he would have punished them severely; for he would not suffer any of his Men to affront the established Religion of a Place where he touched: but he blamed him for fetting the Spaniards to beat them; adding, that he would have him and the World know, that none but an Englishman should chastise an Englishman c.

WE have already mentioned the taking Part of the Plate-Fleet by Captain Stayner, an Incident of such Consequence to Cromwell, that the ingenious Mr. Waller wrote a Poem to persuade him to lay hold of this Opportunity, and the People were pleased with the Sight of so much Spanish Bullion, to set the Crown upon his Head. We have likewise entered into a

Detail

Heath's Chronicle, p. 366. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 347. Lives English and Foreign, vol. ii. p. 113, 114. Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 80, 81. Waller's Poems, p. 274.

Detail of the celebrated Action at Santa Cruz, and have shewn how glorious it was for his Country, and his Profession, no Seamen having ever attempted any Thing of that kind before. But there is a Circumstance yet behind, which will perhaps redound more to his own Glory, than even the burning of the Spanish Ships in so well-fortified a Port. His Brother Capt. Benjamin Blake, for whom he had a very tender Affection, was guilty of some Misdemeanour in the Action, for which he was by Sentence from Blake, removed from his Ship, and the Command of it given to another c. This was such an Instance of Discipline, and must have had so strong an Effect on the Minds of all who ferved under him, that we need not wonder fuch extraordinary Things were performed by Men fo strictly tied to their Duty. To fay the Truth, Discipline is the Soul of Service. Men are apt to measure the Consequences of Things by the Rewards and Punishments which attend them; and if Resolution purchases nothing, or Neglect is easily excused, an Army or a Fleet may, by the Help of the Taylor and Carpenter, make a fine Shew, but will prove a Terror to none but those who pay them. An Officer like Blake, who will do Justice upon his Brother, will be feared, admired, and beloved; his Sailors will be ready to undertake any Thing at his Command, and his Acts of Courage will fo transcend what happens amongst debauched Posterity, that they will be glad to stile that Temerity, which in its day passed only for a bold Attempt.

In a short Time after the Destruction of the Enemy's Fleet at Teneriss, we find Blake cruizing again off the Harbour of Cadiz; where, perceiving his Ships were become foul, and that his own Health and Spirits wore away, he resolved to sail for England. His Distemper was a Complication of Dropsy and Scurvy, brought upon him by being for three Years together at Sea, and wanting all that Time the Conveniencies requisite for the Cure of his Disease. In his Passage home it increased upon him, and he became so sensible of his approaching End, that he frequently enquired for Land, a Mark of his Affection for his Native Soil, which, however, he did not live to see, dying, as his Ship, The St. George, entered Plymouth Sound, on the 17th of August, 1657, about 59 Years of Age. His Body was the next Day embalmed, and wrapped in Lead, his Bowels taken

out,

Lives English and Foreign, vol. ii. p. 121.

f Heath's Chronicle, p. 401.

g Mercurius Politicus, No. 375, Heath's Chronicle, as before, Whitlock's Memorials.

out, and buried in the great Church at Plymouth, and his Corps, by Order of the Protector, conveyed by Water to Greenwich-House, whence he resolved to have it carried to Westminster-Abby, and there interred with the utmost Solemnity, as the last Mark of Respect that could be paid to the noble Spirit which once

animated this Lump of Clay h.

On the fourth of September, after the Corps had lain several Days in State, it was carried from Greenwich in a magnificent Barge, covered with Velvet, adorned with Escutcheons, and Pendants, accompanied by his Brothers, Relations, and Servants in Mourning, by Oliver's Privy-Council, the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, the Field-Officers of the Army, and many other Perfons of Honour and Quality, in a great Number of Barges and Wherries, covered with Mourning, marshalled and ordered by the Heralds at Arms, who directed and attended the Solemnity. Thus they passed to Westminster Bridge, and, at their Landing, proceeded in the same Manner, through a Guard of several Regiments of Foot to the Abby, his dear Friend General Lambert, though then in Disgrace with the Protector, attending on his Horse. The Procession over, the Body was interred in a Vault built on purpose in the Chappel of Henry VII i.

This was an Honour paid to his Predecessor Deane and Pophom, by the Parliament; and the Protector would not be behind in Civility or Magnificence, where it cost so little and had had a visible Tendency to raise the Credit of his Administration so much. But great Offence has been taken at the removing this Body after the Restauration. The Writer of his Life is particularly angry at this disturbing of his Bones k. A late Reverend Writer, to make the Injury still greater, tells us, that, at the Restauration, his Body was taken out of the Grave, and stung, with others, into a Common Pit 1. This had been a great Indignity indeed; but it so happens, that the Fact is not true. An Order was sent, some Time after the Restauration, directing the Dean and Chapter of Westminster to cause such Bodies as had been interred in that Church during the Troubles, to be removed; which we may the less wonder at, if we con-

fider that Cromwell's, Ireton's, Bradshaw's, and Sir William Con-

Carrington's Life of Cromwell, p. 247. Heath's Chronicle, p. 402. Lives English and Foreign, p. 122, 123. Heath's Chronicle, p. 402. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 603. Lives English and Foreign, p. 123. See the last cited Book, p. 123, 124.

Neale's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 174.

Constable's Bodies were all interred there. The Order, therefore, was general, and had no Sort of distinct Reference to this great Admiral. So far from it, that it appears from a very authentic Memorandum, that on the 12th of September, 1661, his Corps was removed from the Abbey, and buried in the Church-Yard: neither could this be called taking out of the Grave, since the Cossin stood in a Vault m. Nay, to shew the Respect the Cavaliers, or Royalists had for him, we need only mention the Characters that have been given him; since they come all, or at least the far greater Part of them, from Persons of that Party.

THE Earl of Clarendon fays, "He was the first Man that " declined the old Track, and made it manifest, that the 66 Science might be attained in less Time than was imagined; 44 and despised those Rules which had been long in Practice, to 66 keep his Ship and Men out of Danger, which had been held in " former Times a Point of great Ability and Circumspection; es as if the principal Art requisite in the Captain of a Ship " had been, to be fure to come home fafe again. He was the " first Man that brought Ships to contemn Castles on Shore, " which had been thought ever very formidable, and were dif-" covered by him to make a Noise only, and to fright those " who could be rarely hurt by them. He was the first that " infused that Proportion of Courage into the Seamen, by " making them fee by Experience what mighty Things they " could do, if they were refolved; and taught them to fight " in Fire, as well as upon Water: and though he hath been " very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave " the Example of that kind of Naval Courage, and bold and " resolute Atchievements "."

Doctor Bate, in drawing his Character, fays, "He was a Man deserving Praise even from an Enemy. ——Being advanced to a Command at Sea, he subdued the Scilly-Islands near Home, and having attained the Office and Title of an Admiral, performed Things worthy of immortal Memory abroad. For he humbled the Pride of France, reduced Portugal to Reason, broke the Naval Force of Holland, and drove them to the Shelter of their Ports, suppressed the Rovers of Barbary, and twice triumphed over Spain. Alone blameable in this, that he complied with the Regicides "."

m Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 536.
n History of the Rebellion, p. 681.
n Elenchus Motuum, p. 323.

Honest Anthony Wood, who observes, that he was admired and applauded by the Royalists, in his blunt Manner, celebrates his Praises thus. "He was a Man wholly devoted to his Country's Service, resolute in his Undertakings, and most saithful in the Performance of them. With him Valour seldom missed its Reward, nor Cowardice its Punishment?". We have a fine Picture of him, by Kennet, in his compleat History of England, and a very fair one by Echard: To these, because the Lines were never printed before, I will add a short Encomium in Verse.

While Portugal shall of her Indies beast,
While Naples glories in her beauteous Coast,
While Pirates unto Africk's Shore resort,
While Tuscany's enrich'd by her fair Port,
While the Dutch sish, the Spaniard vaunts his Mines,
To stealing Conquests while proud France inclines,
While Seas still roar, while Ships divide their Waves,
While Death, for Fame, each gallant Sailor braves,
The Praise shall live: And future Heroes take,
As Cæsar's once—the nobler Name of BLAKE.

As for the Admirals Deane, Popham, and Rainsborough, we have very few, scarce any, Memorials left of them. As to the first, he is mentioned by Lord Clarendon, as a Person raised by his own Merit; and though this entitled him, when slain in the Dutch War, to a pompous Funeral in Westminster-Abbey, yet no Care was taken to preferve to Posterity, either by Tomb or Inscription, the Memory of those military Atchievements by which his Reputation was acquired q. Col. Popham was raised to the Command of the Fleet, rather out of regard to his Fidelity to the Parliament, and his being known for a gallant and well-accomplished Gentleman, than for any Skill in Sea-Affairs; and as to Rainsborough, we have already shewn how he came in, and went out of the Fleet, through the Prejudice of the Sailors against him, chiefly on Account of his promoting a very severe Discipline. After this, he returned to his Command in the Army, where he made a confiderable Figure, chiefly by the favour

P Fasti Oxonienses, vol. i. Col. 204. q Clarendon's History, p. 689. I have seen a Letter written in those Times, wherein it is said, that the Parliament had settled a large Allowance on this Admiral's Wife and Children.

favour of Cromwell, who is thought to have had a greater Regard for him than for any other Person; and that exposed him to the Fury of the Royalists, who surprized him in his Quarters at Duncaster, to which Place he came, in order to form the Siege of Pomfret-Castle, and on his making some Resistance, killed him.

In respect to other famous Seamen within this Period, such as Monk, Montague, Lawson, Asscue, Penn, and many more, to whose Memory a just Tribute of Praise is due, they fall properly under the next Chapter: for though their Merit was first made known in these Times of Distraction (as Civil Wars generally manisest great Spirits), yet their noblest Exploits were afterwards performed, by which also they acquired those Titles whereby they are now known to Posterity. Let us then conclude this Part of our Subject with a few Remarks on the State of Trade and the Plantations.

THE Commerce of England had been increasing for many Years, when the Civil War broke out, and there feems to be good Reason to believe that it continued in a flourishing Condition during the Parliament's Administration: but then it certainly declined, in some Measure from foreign and unavoidable Causes; and in some Measure too, from the Errors of the fucceeding Government. In regard to the former, we must consider, that the Peace of Munster, in 1648, changed the Face of Affairs in Europe as to Trade, and altogether to our Disadvantage. Before that Time, the French had few or no Ships; and though it be true that our Trade with France even then, created a Balance against us, yet we were no Losers by it, but rather Gainers on the whole, because we exported to Italy, and elsewhere, a great Part of the Goods we took from France. Before the Treaty of Munster, we had the whole Spanish Trade in our Hands; whereas afterwards the Dutch came into a large Share of it at the same Time that they managed the whole Trade of the French, till by Degrees, rather through the Wisdom of the French Ministry, than of the Nation, it was taken out of their Hands also. As to the Errors of the Protector's Government, in respect to Trade, they were great and fatal, though perhaps not intended. In the first Place Taxes were much higher than in former Times. He imposed 60,000 Pound per Month by his own Authority, and afterwards he procured from Parliament a Grant of 200,000 Pound for his Civil Lift, 400,000 Pound for the Expence of the Navy, and 700,000 Pound for the Army, so that the whole K 3

Revenue came to one Million three hundred thousand Pounds per Ann. a Sum almost incredible, compared with the modest Grants of former Times . In the next Place, these Taxes were very unequally laid; and most of those Burthensome Methods of raising Money were then introduced, which have lain heavy upon us ever fince t. I fay nothing of the violent Methods taken to raife vast Sums upon particular Occasions, which rendered Property very precarious, and all together brought fuch a Discouragement upon Industry, as shewed itself in the Declention of the Coinage; in the leffening the Number of the Inhabitants of the City of London; in decreasing our Shipping, and in many other Ways. But the greatest of his Mistakes, as to the true Interest of England, was in the Affair of the Spanish War; for though the State might be a Gainer by the vast Quantity of Plate taken by Blake and Montague, yet the Nation loft thereby; fince, if the Peace had continued, we must have drawn larger Sums from Spain in Payment for our Manufactures; and confequently, that mighty Mass of Wealth which was destroyed at Santa Cruz was a very considerable Detriment to us as well as to the Spaniards: for if it had come into their Hands, we must have had a large Share of it; whereas it was buried in the Sea, and so the whole Amount lost to the Trading Interest in Europe for ever. Add to this, that in the End the Spaniards were so reduced, that they were forced to hire Dutch Ships to go to the Indies, and this opened a new Scene of Trade to that wise and industrious People, which otherwise had never fallen into their Hands. Part indeed of these Losses we concealed from the Sight of the Nation, by the Increase of our Plantation-Trade, of which I shall give a very succinct Account.

As the Severities exercised by the Prelates in the Reign of King Charles I. drove Multitudes to New-England, so the Distractions of succeeding Times contributed greatly to the Increase of all our Colonies, particularly Barbadoes and Virginia, which Cromwell for his own Ease encouraged, and the Plantation of Jamaica gave a new Face to Things in that Part of the

^{&#}x27;Happy future State of England, p. 187. This Book has no Author's Name in the Title, but the Dedication of it to the Earl of Sunderland is subscribed P. P. i. e. Peter Pett, and abundance of curious Observations are to be found therein.

'For a comprehensive View of these Exactions, the Reader may have Recourse to a Calculation prefixed to Heath's Chronicle, wherein it is shewn that, in sive Years Time, little less than 20,000,000 l. were levied upon the People.

World, by opening several Branches of Commerce unknown to us before; this, together with the Navigation-Act, preserved us, as I have said, from seeling all the Essects which otherwise must have followed from the Mistakes in Policy before-mentioned, and which in Reality have been severely selt since. Besides our Plantation-Trade was then new, and no other State interfered in the Commerce carried on into Europe with the Commodities brought from those Parts; insomuch, that immense Estates were made in a short Space of Time, especially in Barbadoes, where some who carried over only a sew hundred Pounds, came to be possessed of several thousand Pounds a Year, which without Question encouraged Numbers of Adventurers, and enabled the English to extend their Trade and Colonies in that Part of the World as will be more largely shewn hereaster.

CHAP. IV.

The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN, during the Reign of King Charles II. from the Timeof his Restauration: containing a distinct Account of the several Expeditions against the Algerines; the two Dutch Wars, and other Naval Transactions; the State of our Foreign Trade and Plantations: with Memoirs of all the eminent Scamen who flourished in his Reign.

WHEN the Miseries slowing from the Ruin of our old Constitution had taught the Nation, that the shortest Way to Peace and Happiness was to build up again what they had destroyed; the Seamen shewed a greater Readiness than any other fort of Men to execute this salutary Design, and without waiting for any further Orders than those which came from their Officers, chearfully carried the Fleet over to the Dutch Coast; where after giving new Names to the Ships, they received his Majesty, the Duke of York, and other Persons of principal Quality who had attended him on Board the 23d of K4

[&]quot; The Reader may receive Satisfaction, as to the Facts abovementioned, by confulting the British Empire in America, or the particular Histories of our Plantations.

May, 1660, and fafely landed them in Kent a, For this Service Mr. Montague was created Earl of Sandwich, had a Garter, and was appointed Vice-Admiral of England, under his Royal Highness the Duke of York. Sir John Lawson, Sir Richard Stayner, and other Officers received the Honour of Knighthood, and the King was pleased to promise the Seamen in ge-

neral a particular Share in his Favour and Esteem b.

In the beginning of this Prince's Administration, he certainly shewed a great Attention to the public Interest, and as he had good natural Abilities, and was inclined to look into Naval Affairs, so for some Time he kept a strict Eye on whatever related to the Fleet, of which many Instances occur in the Memoirs of several of its principal Officers. In September, 1660, the Earl of sandwich went with a Squadron of nine Men of War to Helwoetfluys, to bring over the King's Sister, the Princess of Orange, who not long after died in England. Upon this Occasion he received great Honours in Holland; and it is conceived, that the Affection which the People shewed for the young Prince of Orange (afterwards King William) and for the English on his Account, gave some Jealousy to the States, or at least to such as had the principal Direction of Affairs, which was increased by a Memorial presented by the Princess at her Departure; recommending her Son to their Care, and defiring they would now declare their Intentions of conferring upon him the Charges and Dignities which his Anceftors had enjoyed. On the 24th of the same Month the Fleet returned, and his Majesty and the Duke of York going on board the Admiral's Ship, named The Resolution, lay there that Night, and reviewed and examined the Squadron next Morning c.

A TREATY of Marriage having been concluded between his Majesty and the Infanta of Portugal, with whom he was to receive a Portion of 300,000 l. the Island of Bombay in the East-Indies, and the City of Tangier in Africa; it became necessary to send a Fleet to bring over the Queen, and to secure the last mentioned City against any Attempt from the Moors. For this Purpose

^a See the Close of the Earl of Clarendon's History, Heath's Chronicle, p. 450. But the best Account is in the Earl of Sandwich's Journal, a M.S. in the Hands of the Hon. Edward Wortley Montague, Esq: See also Sir William Lower's Account of this short Voyage.

^b Kennet's Compleat History, vol. iii. p. 241. Heath's Chronicle, p. 451. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.

^c Earl of Sandwich's Journal, Heath's Chronicle, p. 470. Kennet's Chronicle.

Purpose the Earl of Sandwich was again sent with a numerous Fleet, which sailed on the 19th of June, 1661, from the Downs, after having been first visited by the Duke of York d. His Lordship sailed first to Liston, and from thence to Tangier, which Place was put into the Hands of the English on the 30th of January, 1662, when the Earl of Peterborough marched into it with an English Garison, and had the Keys delivered to him by the Portuguese Governor. The Admiral then returned to Liston, where he received the Queen's Portion, confissing in Money, in Jewels, Sugars, and other Commodities, and in Bills of Exchange, and then sailed with her Majoria for England, and arrived at Spithead the 14th of May, 1662.

THERE was certainly no Occasion for so large a Fleet merely to bring over the Queen; but as it affording a fair Pretence for fending such a Force into the Mediterranean, this Opportunity was taken to execute Things of greater Moment. The Algerines and other pyratical States of Barbary, taking Advantage of our Confusions, had broke the Peace they made with Blake, and began to take English Ships, with as little Ceremony as they did the Dutch and French. To remedy this, the Earl of Sandwich, with his Fleet, came before Algiers the 20th of July, 1661, and fent Captain Spragge with the King's Letter to the Governor, and a Letter of his own, with Orders also to bring off Mr. Brown the Conful, which was accordingly done. That Evening a Council of War was held, and the next Morning certain Propositions were made to the Governor by Captain Spragge and Conful Brown. About eleven o'Clock these Gentlemen returned on board the Admiral, with an Answer that the Government of Algiers would confent to no Peace, whereby they were deprived of their Right of fearching our Ships, (it feems the fame Humour is now blown over to the other Coast). In the mean time, to flew they were in earnest, they wrought very hard at a Boom, which with much ado they brought over from the Mole-head to the opposite Corner of their Port; that by the Help of this, and many other new Works which they had raised, they might be able to defend themselves from any Attempts that could be made by Sea. The Earl of Sandwich however, resolved to make an Attempt to burn the Ships in the Harbour; but the Wind prevented him: fo that after a good deal of Firing on both Sides, wherein more Hurt was done to the City than the Ships, the Admiral thought fit to fail for Lifbon.

d Heath's Chronicle, p. 500. Lord Sandwich's Journal. e Kennet's Chronicle, p. 617. f Lord Sandwich's Journal, Heath's Chronicle, Kennet's Compleat History.

strong Squadron to protect the English Trade, and harrass the Enemy, which he performed with success, that after taking many of their Ships, he by Degrees forced all these pyratical States to conclude a Peace with Great Britain, without any Reservation as to their savourite Article of searching our Ships; though it must be consessed that the Algerines, retaining still a strong Opinion of the Strength of their Fortifications, did not keep it long, but returned to their old Practices; which obliged the Government here to send fresh Orders to Sir John Lawson,

to employ Force in bringing them to Reason b.

WE are now to enter upon a more ferious Affair, than any that had claimed the Care of the English Court. On his first Return to the Throne of his Ancestors, King Charles and his Ministers had certainly shewn a great Concern for the true Interest of the Nation, as will appear to any attentive Reader of our History, who observes the Advantages we gained by the Treaties of Commerce which he concluded with Spain and Holland. By the former, he secured the Possession of Jamaica, though it had been acquired by Cromwell, and thereby obtained some fort of Satisfaction for the Injury intended him a little before his Restauration, when it is certain that the Spaniards would have fecured his Person, if he had not prevented them by an unexpected Retreat to Breda. He also restored to the Nation the Advantages they drew from the Spanish Trade; and the Affection of this People to the English preferable to any other Nation appeared in this, that they immediately fell out with the Dutch, and even forbade their Ships of War to enter their Ports, as the Dutch writers themselves tell us 1. The Treaty with Holland carried Things also to a great Height; for they not only secured the Respect due to the Flag, but likewise procured some other Concessions very honourable for the Nation, and the Island of Poleron for the East-India Company. His Majesty had also an Intention to have secured the Fishery on the British Coast to his own Subjects: but before that could be effectually done, the War broke out; for the true Grounds of which it is not easy to account, and yet without accounting for them, Books of this Nature can be but of little Value k.

THE

^{*} Heath's Chronicle, p. 500. But most of the Facts abovementioned are taken from the Earl of Sandwich's Journal.

* Kennet's Compleat History, Burchet, Lediard, &c.

* See Kennet's Compleat History of England, vol. iii. Echard, Welwood; but especially the Treaty itself, in the Collection before-mentioned.

* See Kennet, Welwood, Echard, Rapin; but especially the Treaty. See Sir

The Dutch began early to conceive Prejudices against the King's Government, and in reality to apprehend our becoming their Superiors in Trade, in which we were every Day increasing. These Sentiments engaged them, and especially their East and West-India Companies, which then carried on the greatest Part of their Commerce, to take various Steps in those Parts of the World where their Power prevailed, to the Prejudice of the English Trade. The East-India Company particularly delayed settling the Damages the English were to receive; resusted to deliver up the Island before-mentioned, and pretended to prescribe the Places where, and the Terms on which, the English should trade in the Indies. The other Company trod exactly in their Steps, and proceeded so far as to get Cape Corse Castle into their Hands, which belonged to the English Company.

THE Duke of York, who was Governor of the African Company, being informed of this, sent Sir Robert Holmes, with four Frigates, to the Coast of Guinea, in order to make Reprifals. This was in 1661; and Sir Robert, in Consequence of this Commission, summoned the Dutch to surrender Cape Verd to the Company, within a limited Time; yet offered them the Liberty to continue their Trade there as before. He then proceeded to a small Fort, possessed by the Dutch, who, siring their Cannon to prevent the landing of the English, were obliged to surrender, and the Fort received the Name of James-Fort, in Honour of the Duke. From thence, sailing to the River Gambia, he dislodged the Hollanders, and built a new

Fort.

THE Hollanders still refusing to deliver Cape Corfe, Sir Robert was sent a second Time, Anno 1663, with a small Squadron to take it by Force. But searching a Dutch Ship by the Way, he sound Orders (as King Charles informs the States in his Letter, October 4, 1666) from the Dutch West-India Company, to their Governor, General Valkenburg, to seize the English Fort Cormantin; which Discovery disposed him to go beyond his Commission.

In the latter End of the Month of January, 1664, Sir Robert Holmes arrived with his Squadron at Cape Verd. This Cape is Part of the main Land of Africa, and lies on the West Side of the Kingdom of Jaloss, and to the N. W. of the River Gambia,

Sir George Downing's Memorial, and Lord Arlington's Letters. Columna Rostrata, p. 152. See King Charles II's Letter to the States General, on the Causes of this War, and Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 682, 683.

Gambia, in the 15th Degree of N. L. About a Cannon-shot from thence lies the Island Goerce, whereon were two Forts: the lower Fort was furnished with about twenty Pieces of Cannon, and the upper with eight: the former was called Fort Nassau, the latter Fort Orange. Sir Robert first summoned these two Forts of the Island Goerce; which, since the Governor resused to surrender, he attacked, and took the next Day, together with a Ship, called The Crocodile, lying under their Protection; after having, the Evening before, taken two other Dutch Ships, called The Vischkorf, and The Vischer. In the Forts he found a great Quantity of Goods ready to be shipped off for Holland, and among the rest, twenty thousand Hides. These he loaded on his own and the Dutch Ships, and trans-

ported them to Sierra Liona m.

HE next proceeded to attack St. George del Mina, the Chief of all the Dutch Forts; but though himself and his Seamen acted with great Bravery, yet the Delign miscarried, and he was obliged to sheer off with some Loss. To repair this Misfortune, he refolved to attack Cape Corfe Castle, which, though it was fo strong by Situation, that 100 Men might have kept it against 1000; yet he soon took it, and some other Places; after which, he failed from the Coast of Guinea to North America, where he reduced a Dutch Settlement, called, New-Netherland, in the Month of August, 1664, changing the Name into that of New-York, in Honour of the Duke. Yet this was not done merely by way of Reprifal, but partly by Virtue of a Claim of Right. For New-Netherland being first discovered by the English, under the Conduct of Sebastian Cabot (who took Poffession of all that Northern Coast in the Name of King Henry VII. of England) had been always deemed a Part of the English American Dominions, till the Year 1637, when it was first seized and planted by the Dutch n.

THESE Proceedings were hitherto of a private Nature. The Injuries done to the English were done by the Dutch West-India Company; the Reprisals made by the English, were under the Charter of the African Company; the Crown had neither fitted out Sir Robert Holmes, or given him any Commission. But

when

Columna Rostrata, p. 153. Account of Captain Holmes's Proceedings on the Coast of Africa. Heath's Chronicle continued by Philips, p. 535.

British Empire in America, vol. i. p. 237.

So far from it, that the King confined Holmes when he returned, and did not discharge him till he made it evidently appear, that he had not infringed the Law of Nations. Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle.

when the News of what he had done reached Holland, the de Wit Faction, who then carried all before them, resolved inflantly to fall upon the English in those Parts, with a great Fleet, and this without any Declaration of War, or even Intimation of their Defign to repair themselves in Damages for what Holmes had taken from them. The Difficulty lay in geting a Fleet safely into those Seas before the Design could be known in England; and the Project formed by them, as it was very fubtile and fraudulent, fo it was executed with equal Cunning and Success. Admiral de Ruyter, was at that Time in the Meterranean, where he had Orders either to make a Peace with, or to defend their Merchants from the Infults of the pyratical States; to which End, as we before observed, Sir John Lawfon was also there with a Squadron of English Ships, and the States requested of King Charles, that these Admirals might act in Conjunction. Yet now it was thought convenient to remove de Ruyter from thence, and fend him to commit Hostilities on the Coast of Guinea, and in the West-Indies. To this he was well enough inclined, from a Difference that had happened between him and Sir John Lawfon, about the Salute at Sea, which the Dutch Admiral paid, and Sir John refused to return, alledging, that his Orders did not allow him to strike to the Subjects of any King or State whatever. In other Respects, he affisted the Dutch as much as was in his Power.

THE Majority of the States were not for a War with England, and consequently such Orders as the Ministers wanted, to authorize de Ruyter, were not to be had in a fair and open Way; yet, rather than not have them, the Louvestein Faction resolved to sacrifice their Constitution. De Ruyter had sent home an Account of his Proceedings against the Pyrates; they got this Report referred to a Committee of Seven; and this Committee drew up an Order, directing the Admiral to fail to the Coast of Guinea, there to make Reprisals upon the English. But, as this Order must be read to and approved by the States, the Ministers took Care to draw it up in loofe and equivocal Terms, procuring also the Secretary to read it in such a Hurry, as rendered it altogether unintelligible: then they thrust it among some Orders of Course, and engaging such as they thought would be against it, in private Conversation, it was read without being attended to. Lastly, it was brought with a

Bundle

Chronicle, p. 533. Nay M. de Neuville says express, that the King made this War, that he might accommodate himself to the Disposition of his Parliament and People. Histoire de Holland, vol. iii. p. 242.

Bundle of Papers of Form, to be figned by the President for the Week, who, as usual, set his Hand without reading. This is a true State of the Fact, as reported by the Dutch Historians?

WHEN de Ruyter received this Order, he did not communicate it to his Officers; but having first got such a Supply of Provisions as he thought might be necessary, he then pretended to have Information of certain Pyrates cruifing near the Canaries, and under Colour of giving Chace to these, he so far executed his Commission, as to oblige the Governors for the African Company, either to furrender, or demolish several of those Forts. He likewise seized a great Quantity of Goods belonging to that Company. After which he made himself Master of Fort Cormantin, a Place which had always been in the Possession of the English. But Cape Corfe, and Chama (two of the Places taken by Sir Robert Holmes), remained unreduced. From the Coast of Guinea, de Ruyter sailed to Barbadoes, where he attacked a confiderable Fleet of Merchant-Ships, lying under Protection of the Forts, but was repulsed with great Loss. Then passing over to Montserrat, Nevis, and Newfoundland, he took above twenty Sail of English Ships, and so returned to Holland 9.

Nations, and to hasten the Preparations for War; which was proclaimed by the Dutch in January, and by the English in February, 1665. But before it came to that, the Here Van Goch was sent by the States to importune the King with Memorials and Complaints. To which the King's Answer was, that he had received no particular Information of the Affair of Guinea; and that the two Companies must decide the Dispute. These Complaints of the Ambassadors being likewise retaliated by the English Merchants, whose incessant Representations of their Wrongs obliged the King to repeat his Demands of Satisfaction, as the constant Refusal of this Satisfaction demanded, was the Cause of the open Rupture.

SEVERAL Writers who have censured King Charles's Government, would have us believe, that this War was of his Majesty's procuring; whereas nothing can be more certain than that he was engaged in it by Advice of Parliament and the Clamours of the People. The House of Commons, told him, in one of their Representations, that the Dutch had injured his Subjects to the

P Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, p. 714.

Gennet's Compleat History of England, Basnage, de Neuville.

Rostrata, p. 156, 157.

the

the Amount of 800,000 Pounds. The King promised to take Care of the Merchants, and of the Nation; and when he found a War necessary, and defired the City of London to lend him 100,000 Pounds, they did it very readily, and even repeated the Favour as readily, when the King condescended to shew them that the first Loan was not sufficient to fit out the Fleet. These are demonstrative Proofs, that this was not a Court-War, but a Popular one. Yet it must be allowed, that it was chiefly brought about by the Artifices of France, the Emissaries of that Crown instigating the Dutch to do all they did, and at the same Time, omitting no Opportunity of inflaming us against them. Their Design was plainly to engage the Maritime Powers in a cruel War, that they might weaken and waste each others Strength, and so be less able to oppose the Designs of the French Ministry; one of which was, to render France a Maritime Power'.

THE first Action of Consequence that happened after the War broke out, was the attacking a Dutch Fleet richly laden. from Smyrna, near Cadiz. It consisted of forty Merchant-Ships, some of them very large, and well provided with Ordnance, and their Convoy was four third-rate Men of War. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the English Squadron, had with him about nine Ships (his own Narrative fays but eight). With these he attacked the Enemy so successfully, that having killed their Commodore Brackel, and taken or funk four of their richest Ships, he drove the rest into the Bay of Cadiz, where for some Time he blocked them up. A Misfortune of the same Kind befel the Dutch Bourdeaux Fleet, of which about 130 Ships were taken. Some of these, however, appearing to be French Bottoms, were discharged; but the far greater Part were declared good Prize t. These Misfortunes obliged the Dutch, contrary to their Inclinations, and indeed to their usual Practice, to lay an immediate Embargo on all Vessels in their Ports, whereby the Fisheries, and all the annual Commerce, were stopped for that Season. They likewise settled a Fund of sourteen Millions of Guilders for the Support of the War; and in order to shew that there ought to be some Difference between Wars made by trading Nations, and those entered into by arbitrary Princes, for the mere Thirst of Dominion; they ordered about fifty English and Scotch Vessels, which had been seized in their Harbours, to be fet at Liberty; and on their Arrival in England,

Journals of the House of Commons, Basnage, de Neuville, Philips, Kennet, Echard.

Kennet's Compleat History, Echard, Rapin.

the Civility was returned by a like Release of Dutch Ships stopped

here ".

THE English Fleet was first ready, though the Dutch began first to arm. It consisted of 114 Sail of Men of War and Frigates, 28 Fire Ships and Ketches, and had about 22,000 Seamen and Soldiers on board. The whole was commanded by the Duke of York, as Admiral of the Red, Prince Rupert was Admiral of the White, and the Earl of Sandwich of the Blue. April 21, 1665, the English failed for the Dutch Coast, and on the 28th, fent in a Squadron fo near the Shore and Harbour of the Texel, that the Country was exceedingly alarmed. After remaining there a Month, the Fleet was so ruffled by a Storm, that it was found necessary to retire towards our own Shore. This Opportunity the Dutch took of fending out their Fleet, and by the latter End of May, appeared about the Doggerfands. They were divided into seven Squadrons, the first under Opdam, confisting of fourteen Men of War and two Fireships; the second under John Everts, of the like Force; the third commanded by Admiral Cortenaer, confisting of fourteen Men of War and a Fire-ship; the fourth was under Stillingwert, amounting likewise to sourteen Men of War and a Fireship; the fifth conducted by Tromp, the Son of the famous Admiral, made up of fixteen Men of War, and two Fire-ships; the fixth under Cornelius Everts, confisting of fourteen Men of War and a Fire-ship; the last commanded by Schram, in which were fixteen Men of War and two Fire-Ships. In all 103 Men of War, eleven Fire-ships, and seven Yachts. A mighty Fleet! far superior to what the Prench conceived it possible for the States to fit out, and well furnished with Men; but by the Help of their India Ships, whence they were mostly taken, partly by Persuasion, and partly by Force 2. The Duke of York being retired from the Dutch Coast, when they came out, afforded an Opportunity for them to fall on our Hamburgh Fleet, which they did not neglect, and they were fo fortunate therein, as to take the greatest Part, whereby we suffered near 200,000 l. Some attributed this to ill Management, others, with more Reason, to Accident; for they had a Convoy, and the Duke of York fent The Roe-Ketch to inform them of his Departure, which not meeting this Fleet proved their Ruin 2. This exasperated the English, and at the same Time raised the Spirits of the Dutch. ADMIRAL

^u Basnage, de Neuville, Leven van de Wit, p. 252. ² Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 740. Histoire de Hollande, tom. iii. p. 248. Leven van de Wit, p. 252. ² Philips's Contij nuation of Heath's Chronicle, Kennet, Echard, Rapin.

ADMIRAL Opdam, who commanded the latter, was a very prudent as well as gallant Commander. The great John de Wit raised him to this envied Employment; but finding him inclined to the Prince of Orange, he became his Enemy, and as foon as he was out at Sea, wrote him a Letter, directing him to fight at all Events, and this with a peculiar Quickness of Stile, which proved the Letter his, though it was written in the Name of the States. Opdam resolved to obey, though contrary to the Advice of his Officers and his own Opinion, as appeared by his fending ashore his Plate before the Engagement. I am, faid he, on hearing the Judgment of a Council of War, entirely in your Sentiments; but bere are my Orders: To-morrow my Head shall be bound with Laurel or Cypress. And in this Disposition he failed to find out the English Navy b. That did not require much Time, for the Duke of York was now eager to revenge the Loss of the Hamburgh Fleet. On the 3d of June, the English and Dutch Navies engaged, about three in the Morning, off Leostoff, when, by an Overlight of the Dutch (as their Writers fay) the English had the Weather-Gage, an Advantage they knew how to use as well as keep.

THINGS went at first very equally on both Sides, charging through and through without any remarkable Advantage. But about Noon, the Earl of Sandwich with the Blue Squadron fell into the Centre of the Dutch Fleet, divided it into two Parts, and began that Confusion which ended in a total Defeat d. The Duke of York, in The Royal Charles, a Ship of 80 Guns, and Admiral Opdam, in The Eendracht, of 84, were closely engaged. The Fight continued for some Hours with great Obstinacy, and his Royal Highness was in the utmost Danger: Several Persons of Distinction were killed on board his Ship, particularly the Earl of Falmouth, the King's Favourite, Lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, Son to the Earl of Cork, with one Ball; and so near the Duke, that he was covered with their Blood and Brains: nay, a Splinter from the last mentioned Gentleman's Skull razed his Hand. About One, the Dutch Admiral blew up with a prodigious Noise; but how the Accident happened is uncertain. Some fay, a Shot fell in the Powder Room; others, that Opdam's Black, blew up the

b Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 741. Columna Rostrata, p. 160. Basnage de Neuville. d Earl of Sandwich's Journal, MS. Basnage, Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 742. Kennet, Echard, Rapin.

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Ship to be revenged of his Master for beating him. The most probable Account is, that it was occasioned by some Carelessness in distributing the Powder! In this Vessel, together with the Admiral, perished five hundred Men, only five of the whole Crew escaping; many of them Volunteers, of the best Families in Holland, and not a few Frenchmen, who took this Opportunity of being present in a Sea-fight.

A LITTLE after this unlucky Blow, the Dutch received a greater. Four fine Ships, the biggest of fixty, the least of forty Guns, ran foul on each other, and were burnt by one Fire-ship: foon after, three larger Veffels by the fame Accident shared the fame Fate. The Orange, a Ship of 75 Guns, after a most gallant Defence was also burnt; and thus, towards four in the Afternoon, all fell into Confusion. Vice-Admiral Stillingwert was shot through the Middle by a Cannon-ball; Vice-Admiral Cortenaer received a Shot in his Thigh, of which he instantly died. These Ships bearing out of the Line on the Death of their Commanders, without striking their Flags, drew many after them; fo that, by eight at Night, Tromp, who held to the last, and fought retreating, had not above thirty Ships left with him. This was the most fignal Victory the English ever gained, and the severest Blow the Dutch ever felt at Sea h. According to our Accounts, which upon a strict Examination I have always found moderate, the Dutch had eighteen Ships taken (several of which we quitted) and fourteen funk in this Action, besides such as were burnt or blown up. Yet their Accounts admit of no more than nine Ships taken, one (their Admiral) blown up, and eight burnt 1. As to our Loss, which was far more unaccountable, there is no Dispute about it. We lost The Charity, a Ship of 46 Guns, with most of her Men, in the Beginning of the Fight; had 250 Men killed, and 340 wounded: on the other Side they loft at least 6000 Men, including 2300 taken Prisoners'k. Yet some great Men of ours bought this Advantage to their Country at the Expence of their Blood, such as the Earls of Portland and Marlborough, Vice-Admiral Sampfon, and Sir John Lawfon, who died of a Wound in the Knee, though he furvived the Battle.

THE Dutch ascribe this Deseat in a great Measure to the ill Conduct of their own Officers, and Seamen, many of whom

f Basnage, de Neuville, Leven van Tromp.

of the three Dutch Wars, p. 390.

h Kennet, Echard, Columna Rostrata, Basnage, Le Clerc, de Neuville, &c.

i Philips's Chronicle, Lord Chancellor's Speech to the Parliament, Kennet, Le Clerc, Leven van Tromp.

k Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Lediard.

were severely punished. Thus much is allowed on all Sides. that, except fixteen or feventeen of their Captains who had ferved in the former War, they had none of tolerable Knowledge, or true Courage, most of them being the Sons of rich Burgomasters, brought in, to secure their Fathers Interests, by de Wit; who, though he thus in apacitated them for fighting, yet compelled them against Reason and their own Opinion to fight; because at all Events a Battel was for his Interest; fince, gained, it raised his Authority at home; or, lost, it must bring in his Allies the French from abroad. This refined Policy had well-nigh ruined himself and his Friends; for the Mob rose, and threatened nothing less than a total Revolution. At the Brill, Admiral Evertz was thrown into the River, and with much Difficulty rescued by the Magistrates from the Populace: and like Tumults happened at Rotterdam, and elsewhere 1. On the Side of the English too, there was some Mismanagement, otherwise this had been the last Battel with the Dutch: but so it was, that, content with the Victory, we neglected the Pur-The Friends of the Duke of York fay, this was owing to high Winds from Shore, and our Fire thips being all fpent. Others alledge, that his Royal Highness falling asleep after the Fatigue of the Day, one Captain Brounker, who was about his Person, gave Orders that the Admiral should flack Sail; an Act equally dangerous to the Nation's Interest, and the Duke's Glory m.

His Royal Highness left the Fleet soon after, and returned to London, to make a Report of all Things to the King. His Majesty having attended his Mother to the Coasts, went on board The Royal Charles, in the River, where he made a strict Inquiry into the Conduct of the Officers, and State of their Ships; and receiving Satisfaction as to both, he there, as an Encouragement to a like Behaviour in Time to come, knighted the most considerable Commanders, viz. Admiral Tyddiman, Captain Cuttings, Captain fordan, Captain Spragge, &c. after which he directed that all the Ships should be repaired with the utmost Diligence, and the Fleet as soon as possible be put into a Condition to go out again to Sea. The King's Command, their Sense of their late Victory, and the News of two rich Dutch Squadrons being at Sea, quickly brought out the English Navy, to the Number of sixty Sail; and on the 5th of July they steer-

¹ Basnage, Annales, des Provinces Unies, vol i. p. 743. Le Clerc, de Neuville, Philips's Chronicle.

^m Echard, Rapin, Coke's Detection, Denham's Satyrs, Secret History of Charles II. and James II.

ⁿ Philips's Chronicle, Kennet, Earl of Sandwich's Journal.

ed from Southwold Bay, into which they put immediately after the last Engagement, for the Coast of Holland. The Standard was borne by the gallant Earl of Sandwich, to whom was Vice-Admiral Sir George Ayscue, and Sir Thomas Tyddiman Rear-Admiral. Sir William Penn was Admiral of the White, Sir William Berkley Vice-Admiral, and Sir Joseph Jordan Rear-Admiral. The Blue Flag was carried by Sir Thomas Allen, whose Vice and Rear were Sir Christopher Mimms and Sir John Harman. The Design they went on was to intercept de Ruyter, in his Return, or at least to take and burn the Turkey and East-India Fleets, of which they had certain Intelligence.

THEY succeeded in neither of these Schemes. De Ruyter returned unexpectedly by the North of Scotland, and arrived fafely in Holland, where he was immediately promoted to the chief Command of the Fleet P. The Turkey and India Fleet, confifting of twenty Sail, under the Command of Commodore Bitter, chose to take the same Northern Route, in Hopes of avoiding the English Navy; but having Intelligence at Sea, that this would prove very difficult, if not impossible, they took Shelter in the Port of Berghen in Norway 9. The Port was pretty easy of Access, and covered only by an old Castle; the Danish Governor, indeed, promised the Dutch to do for them what he could, and they were willing to contribute as much as in them lay to render him able. In order to this they landed forty-one Pieces of Cannon, which were discosed on a Line before the Fort: then the Dutch drew another Line, cross the Bay, confisting of their largest Ships; and in this Posture they waited for the English. It was not long before they appeared; for the Earl of Sandwich, having Advice of their being put into Berghen, had detached Sir Thomas Tyddiman with fourteen Sail of Men of War and three Fireships, to attack them. This he performed with great Courage, though the Wind was against them, and the Enemy made a prodigious Fire from the Castle, the Line, and the Ships; so that at last he was forced to bear out of the Bay, and this he performed without the Loss of a Ship, though he had five or fix very ill treated.

The States by this Time, partly by Threats, partly by Punishments, but more by Promises and Rewards, had again manned out a stout Fleet. Admiral de Ruyter had the Command

Basnage, Le Clerc, Leven Van Tromp.

P Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 744. 745. Le Clerc, De Neuville.

Rennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin.

In order to come as near Truth as possible, I have compared the Dutch Commodore's Letter, with one wrote by the Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State.

it, which gave no small Displeasure to Tromp; but he grew into a better Temper, when he perceived that his Competitor had the Command only in Shew . The great Statesman de Wit, not fatisfied with directing all Things in the Dutch Council, refolved also to direct their Fleets; to which End he got himself, and two other Deputies, appointed to attend the Admiral. A Step opposed by all his Friends, and contrary to the Sentiments of the French King, who was afraid, if by any Accident he lost M. de Wit, he should not find the States so tractable as they had been for some Years past t. The Pensionary, however, perfifted in his Defign, and gained a very great Reputation in his new Character, even before the Fleet put to Sea; and, though I cannot say that this relates to English History, yet as it has a near Relation to naval Affairs, I hope the Reader will not be displeased at my telling him, how de Wit acquired this Reputation. When he came on board the Fleet in the Texel, the Pilots, Captains, and Admirals were unanimously of Opinion, that they must wait for a fair Wind, in order to get out, though there were two Passages. As to the larger, they faid, that two and twenty Winds might absolutely hinder a Fleet from failing through it; and that in Respect to the latter, it was too shallow for large Ships to pass. M. de Wit, who was no Seaman, enquired into the Reason why so many Winds should keep them in; and the next Morning demonstrated to the Pilots upon their own Principles, that Winds blowing but from four of these Points, could produce this Effect; which Experience has fince justified. Yet the Wind being at that Time in one of these four Points, de Wit went the fame Day and examined the Spanish Passage with a Lead, and having done this, he and Mr. Van Haaren, who accompanied him, undertook with the next Tide to carry out the two largest Ships in the Fleet, which they performed very fafely, and the rest followed the next Day; and ever fince this has been called de Wit's Paffage ".

THE Point he had principally in View was, to bring off the East-India Fleet from Berghen, which was a very difficult Thing, confidering the English Fleet was then at Sea. He found Means however to pass by them, and arrived safely before Berghen, where the Dutch had found a new Enemy in their old Defender. The Danish Governor modestly desired 100,000 Crowns for the Assistance he had given them in the late Assair,

De Neuville, Le Clerc, Leven Van Tromp.

* Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 745.

"Wiquesort Histoire des Provinces Unies, MS. B. xv. The Dutch Term in the Maps was, Spanjards Gat, now they call it, Heer de Wits diep.

and threatened to fink them if they offered to stir out of the Port before they had complied with his Demand. The Arrival of the Fleet made him change his Language: he was content they should sail then without paying the Money; but he kept the Cannon they had put ashere w. Thus far de Wit was successful; but in his Return home, the Fleet was scattered by a Storm, which sunk two Fire-ships, and some of the Merchantmen. The Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral of the East-India Fleet, Ships of very great Value, with sour Men of War, were taken by sive English Frigates, which the same Storm had separated from our Fleet; and soon after, sour Men of War, two Fire-ships, and thirty Merchant-men, joined our Fleet instead of their own, and so were all taken; which ended the

Operations of this Year .

THE French perceiving that the Scales were no longer even, but that the Dutch would certainly be destroyed if left to themselves; or, which they more apprehended, would be forced to make fuch a Peace as we should prescribe, resolved to declare in their Favour. It may not be amis, in order to shew what Sort of an Enemy this Court has always been, to observe that immediately upon this Declaration, she began to cabal with our Republicans, and actually endeavoured to draw General Ludiow from his Retreat, that she might send him over to head their Friends, as they now called them, on this Side of the Water. By the Persuasion of France, the King of Denmark, and the Elector of Brandenburgh, declared also for the Dutch; but the former was well paid for it, fince the States forgave him a Debt of fix Millions of Guilders, and undertook to pay him an annual Subfidy of one Million and a half more, fo long as the War should last r. It quickly appeared that France, by taking this Measure, meant to make herself at once a Maritime Power; for having premised to assist the Dutch with a Fleet of fix and thirty Men of War, they were thus made up: twelve were built by Dutch Carpenters, in the Dutch Docks; twelve more were made out of large India Men, bought in the fame Country, and the other twelve were either built or bought in the Ports of Denmark. When all this was done, the French were for fetting on Foot a Negotiation; but King Charles being then in the Interest of his Subjects, was very deaf on that Ear. He faid, the Dutch had injured England to the Amount of two Millions; and if they thought fit to pay fo much Money, he

Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 747. Philips, Kennet, Burchet. Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 549.

he was willing to grant them a Peace without any Mediation at all. Nay, the King carried it still farther; for in case he made a Peace with the Dutch, he declared their Allies should be left out of it; which, considering the Strength of the Confederacy, and that the Plague then raged in England, seems to prove that this Prince did not want Spirit enough, when his good Sense told him he was engaged in a right Cause; for at that Time, we had no Ally, but the Bishop of Munster, who, though he gave the Dutch a great deal of Trouble, yet did it entirely at our Expence 2.

THE next Year opened with a new Scene; the King recalled Lord Holles from the French Court, and sent the Earl of Sandwich to Spain, as his Embassador: two of the wisest Steps in his whole Reign; for by the first he broke entirely with that persidious Court; and in consequence of the second, he concluded the most beneficial Treaty of Commerce that was ever made for this Nation. As to Naval Affairs, it was resolved, that the Fleet should be commanded by Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle; the sormer to look after the French, who began now to talk very high, and the latter to act against the

Dutch b.

Before we speak of the Consequences of these great Undertakings, it may not be amiss to take Notice of an Accident which happened at Lison, because it shews the Spirit of that Age. There were in that Port a considerable Number of English Merchant-men, which were to come home under the Convoy of The Guinea Frigate. A large French Man of War was also there, and the Captain daily boasted to the Portuguese, what he would do when the English Frigate put to Sea. This coming to the Ears of Captain Coite, who commanded her, he sent the Frenchman Word, he would fail the next Morning, which he performed accordingly; but having hovered on the Coasts three Days, in Expectation of being chased, he returned into Port, carried out his Fleet of Merchant-men, and brought them safe into the River Thames, the Frenchman continuing quiet in the Harbour of Lisbon c.

PRINCE Rupert, and the Duke of Albemarle, went on board the Fleet, on the 23d of April, 1666, and failed in the begining of May. Towards the latter End of that Month, the Court was informed that the French Fleet, under the Command

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² Kennet's Compleat History of England. vol. iii. p. 279. ² Columna Rostrata, p. 167. Bishop Parker's History of his own Times, Rapin, Echard. &c. ^b Kennet, Burchet, Rapin. ^c Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 550.

of the Duke Beaufort, were coming out to the Affistance of the Dutch. This Rumour, of their joining the Dutch, was spread by France, in order to deceive us, and distress the Dutch, themselves in Reality having no such Intention. Upon the receiving this News, the Court sent Orders to Prince Rupert to sail with the White Squadron, to look out and fight the French; which Command that brave Prince obeyed, but sound it what many wise People thought it, a mere groundless Bravado, intended to raise the Courage of their new Allies, and thereby bring them into the greater Danger d.

AT the same Time Prince Rupert sailed from the Downs, the Dutch put out to Sea, the Wind at North-East, and a fresh Gale. This brought the Dutch Fleet on the Coasts of Dunkirk, and carried his Highness towards the Isle of Wight; but the Wind suddenly shifting to the South-West, and blowing hard brought both the Dutch and the Duke to an Anchor. Captain Bacen, in the Bristol, first discovered the Enemy, and by firing his Guns, gave Notice of it to the English Fleet. Upon this, a Council of War was called, wherein it was resolved to fight the

Enemy, notwithstanding their great Superiority e.

AFTER the Departure of Prince Rupert, the Duke had with him only the Red and Blue Squadrons, and about fixty Sail: Whereas the Dutch Fleet confifted of ninety-one Men of War, carrying 4716 Guns, and 22,462 Men. It was the first of June when they were discerned, and the Duke was so warm for engaging, that he attacked the Enemy before they had Time to weigh Anchor; and, as de Ruyter himself fays in his Letter, they were obliged to cut their Cables: and in the fame Letter he owns, that to the last, the English were the Aggressors notwithstanding their Inferiority and other Disadvantages. The English Fleet had the Weather-Gage, but the Wind bowed their Ships fo much, that they could not use their lowest Tire. Sir William Berkley's Squadron led the Van. The Duke, when he came on the Coast of Dunkirk, to avoid running on a Sand, made a fudden Tack, and this brought his Top-mast to the board, which compelled him to lie by, four or five Hours, till another could be fet up. The Blue Squadron knowing nothing of this, failed on, fighting through the Dutch Fleet, though they were five to one f. In this Engagement, fell the brave Sir William

d Kennet, Burchet, Echard, Rapin. e Basnage, Le Clerc, De Neuville, Levens der Zeehelden, tweede deel, p. 207. Sir John Harman's Account of this Engagement. f Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 551. Kennet, Burchet, Basnage, De Neuville.

William Berkley, and his Ship, The Swifture, a fecond Rate, was taken; fo was The Effex, a third Rate; and Sir John Harman, in The Henry, had the whole Zealand Squadron to deal with. His Ship being disabled, the Dutch Admiral Evertz called to Sir John, and offered him Quarter, who answered, " No, " Sir! it is not come to that yet;" and immediately discharged a Broad-fide, by which Evertz was killed, and several of his Ships damaged; which fo discouraged their Captains, that they quitted The Henry, and fent three Fire-ships to burn her. The first grappled on her Starboard Quarters, and there began to raise so thick a Smoke, that it was impossible to perceive where the Irons were fixed. At last when the Ship began to blaze, the Boatswain of The Henry threw himself on board, and by its own Light discovered and removed the Grappling-Irons, and in the same Instant jumped on board his own Ship. He had scarce done this, before another Firethip was fixed on the Larboard, this did its Business so effectually, that the Sails were quickly on fire; which frighted the Chaplain and fifty Men over-board. Upon this, Sir John drew his Sword, and threatened to kill any Man who should attempt to provide for his own Safety, by leaving the Ship. This obliged them to endeavour to put out the Fire, which in a short time they did; but the Cordage being burnt, the Cross-beam fell and broke Sir John's Leg, at which Inflant, the third Fireship bore down; but four Pieces of Cannon, laden with Chainshot disabled her, so that, after all, Sir John brought his Ship into Harwich, where he repaired her as well as he could, and, notwithstanding his broken Leg, put to Sea again, to seek the The Battle ended the first Day about ten in the Dutch. Evening 8.

The following Night was spent in repairing the Damage suffered on both Sides, and next Morning the Fight was renewed by the English with fresh Vigour. Admiral Van Tromp, with Vice-Admiral Vander Hulst, being on board one Ship, rashly engaged among the English, and was in the utmost Danger of being either taken or burnt. The Dutch Affairs, according to their own Account, were now in a desperate Condition: but Admiral de Ruyter at last disengaged them, though not till his Ship was disabled, and Vice-Admiral Vander Hulst killed. This only changed the Scene; for de Ruyter was now

These Circumstances are taken from Sir John Harman's Relation, who blames the Duke's Eagerness for fighting; and mentions his own Affair, only to shew how hard the English were put to it. As to the Matters of Fact in this Account, they are confirmed by all the Dutch Authors.

as hard pushed as Tromp had been before. However, a Reinforcement arriving, preserved him also; and so the second Day's

Fight ended earlier than the first h.

The third Day the Duke found it necessary to retreat; and he performed it with wonderful Courage and Conduct. He first burnt three Ships that were absolutely disabled: he next caused such as were very much torn, to sail before, and with 28 Men of War, that were in a pretty good Condition, brought up the Rear! Sir John Harman indeed says, he had but sixteen Ships that were able to fight. Yet, in the Evening, the Duke discovering the White Squadron coming to his Affissance, resolved to engage the Enemy again. In joining Prince Rupert, a very unlucky Accident happened; for Sir George Ayscue, who was on board The Royal Prince, the largest and heaviest Ship in the whole Fleet, ran upon The Galloper; and being there in Danger of burning, and out of all Hopes of Relief, was forced so surrender: and Night then falling, ended this Day's Engagement!

On the 4th of June, the Dutch, who were still considerably stronger than the English, were almost out of Sight; but the Duke of Albemarle, having prevailed on the Prince to follow them, about eight in the Morning they engaged again, and the English Fleet charged five times through the Dutch; till Prince Rusert's Ship being disabled, and that of the Duke of Albemarle very roughly handled, about seven in the Evening the Fleets separated, each Side being willing enough to retire. In this Day's Engagement fell the brave Admiral Mimms, who having a Shot in the Neck, remained upon Deck and gave Orders, keeping the Blood from flowing with his Fingers above an Hour, till another Shot pierced his Throats, and put an End to his Pain ". This was the most terrible Battel fought in this, or perhaps in any other War, as the Dutch Admirals themselves fay; and the Pensionary de Wit, who was no Flatterer to our Nation, yet too nice a Man not to discern, and of too great a Spirit to conceal the Truth, faid roundly upon this Occasion, "If the English were beat, their Defeat did them more Honour than all their former Victories; their own Fleet could never " have been brought on after the first Day's Fight, and he be-" lieved

h Kennet's Compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 281. Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Basnage, De Neuville, Leven Van Tromp.

Burchet, Echard, Lediard.

k In his Narration, an Extract of which may be found in Kennet.

Philips, Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin.

Philips's Chronicle, p. 551. Columna Rostrata, Basnage.

" lieved none but theirs could; and all the Dutch had discover" ed was, that Englishmen might be killed, and English Ships
" burnt, but that the English Courage was invincible"."

Of this Panegyric it is hard to determine, whether it does more

Honour to him, or to the English Nation.

AFTER all, it is pretty difficult to fay who were Victors upon the whole, or what was the Loss of the Vanquished. Some Dutch Writers talk of thirty-five Ships, and between five and fix thousand Men lost by the English; which is more than half their Fleet, and very little less than all their Seamen. Their best Historians, however, compute our Loss at fixteen Men of War, of which ten were funk, and fix taken. Our Writers fay, the Dutch lost fifteen Men of War, twenty-one Captains, and five thousand Men: themselves own the Loss of nine Ships, and a prodigious Slaughter of their Seamen o. The Duke of Albemarle was much blamed for his Rashness and great Contempt of the Dutch. It seems he was of the same Humour with Blake, and thought that fighting was always preferable to running away, in a Nation who pretend to the Dominion of the Sea; and whoever shall consider the Reputation we still retain from the glorious Spirits of these Men, will scarce think it reasonable to hazard his own Character by attacking theirs. It is enough that we live in cooler Times, when Men may be Heroes upon more moderate Terms; let us, therefore, content ourselves with justifying our own Conduct without censuring that of others, while we confess that it is no easy Thing to imitate it.

THE Dutch had the Credit of appearing at Sea again before the English, their Ships having in these Engagements suffered They affected then to brave us on our own Coasts, and next to go in fearch of their French Allies, who never meant to afford them any real Affistance. It was not long before the English appeared: the Fleet consisted of eighty Men of War, great and small, and nineteen Fire-Ships, divided into three Squadrons; the Red under Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, who were on board the same Ship, Sir Joseph Jordan Vice, and Sir Robert Holmes Rear-Admiral: Sir Thomas Allen was Admiral of the White, and had under him Sir Thomas Tyddiman, and Rear-Admiral Utburt: Sir Jeremiah Smith carried the Blue Flag, and his Officers were Sir Edward spragge and Rear-Admiral Kempthorne. The Dutch, according to their own Accounts, had eighty-eight Men of War, and twenty Fire-ships, divided also into three Squadrons, under de Ruyter, Evertz

(Brother

nage, Le Clerc, De Neuville, Brandt Vie de Ruyter.

(Brother to the Admiral who was killed in the former Engage-

ment) and Tromp P.

On the 25th of July about Noon the English came up with the Enemy off the Northforeland. Sir Thomas Allen with the White Squadron began the Battle by attacking Evertz. Prince Rupert and the Duke about one o'Clock made a desperate Attack upon ed Ruyter, and after fighting about three Hours, were obliged to go on board another Ship. In this Space the White Squadron had entirely defeated their Enemies, Admiral Evertz, his Vice-Admiral de Vries, and his Rear-Admiral Koenders, being all killed, the Vice-Admiral of Zealand taken, and another Ship of 50 Guns burnt. The Prince and Duke fought de Ruyter Ship to Ship, disabled The Guelderland of 66 Guns, which was one of his Seconds, killed the Captain of another, and mortally wounded two more, upon which the Dutch Squadron began to fly 9. However, Vice-Admiral Van Nes stood bravely by de Ruyter, and received great Damage: yet being at last deserted by all but seven Ships, they yielded to Necessity, and followed as fast as they could. De Ruyter's Ship was so miserably torn, and his Crew so dispirited and fatigued, that he could have made but little Refistance, and nothing but the Want of Wind could have hindered the English from boarding him. As for Admiral Van Tromp, he was engaged with Sir Jeremiah Smith, at a Diflance, and fo could not affift his Friends. As his was the strongest Squadron of the Dutch Fleet, and Smith's the weakest of the English, we had no great Advantage on that Side; yet fome we had, his Vice-Admiral's Shipbeing disabled, and his Rear-Admiral killed; which, however, did not hinder his fighting out as long as there was Light'.

ADMIRAL de Ruyter continued his Retreat that Night, and the next Day Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle purfued him with Part of the Red Squadron, as fast as the Wind would permit. A Fire-ship bore down upon the Dutch Admiral, and missed very little of setting him on fire. They then cannonaded again; when de Ruyter sound himself so hard pressed, and his Fleet in such imminent Danger, that in a Fit of Despair he cried out, "My God, what a Wretch am I! amongst so many thousand Bullets, is not there one to put me out of my Pain?" By degrees, however, he drew near their own shallow Coast, where the English could not follow him. Upon this Occasion Prince Rupert insulted the Dutch Admiral, by

P Philips's Chronicle, Kennet, Burchet, Basnage. Le Clerc, De Neuville.

Philips's Chronicle, Columna Rostrata, History of the Dutch Wars.

Basnage, Le Clerc, De Neuville, &c.

fending

fending a little Shallop called The Fanfan, with two small Guns on board, which being rowed near de Ruyter's Vessel, fired upon him for two Hours together; but at last a Ball from the Dutch Admiral so damaged his contemptible Enemy, that the Crew were forced to row, and that briskly to save their Lives. The Enemy being driven over the Flats into the Wylings, the English went to lie at Schonevelt, the usual Rendezvous of the Dutch Fleets.

THIS was the clearest Victory gained in the whole War: the Dutch were miserably beaten, and their two great Admirals de Ruster and Tromp had nothing to do but to lay the Blame on each other, which they did with all the aggravating Circumstances they could think of. In this Battle the Dutch lost 20 Ships, four Admirals killed, and a great many Captains: as to private Men, there might be about 4000 flain, and 3000 wounded. The English had only The Resolution burnt, three Captains killed, and about 300 private Men. Upon this Occasion it appeared, of how little Service it is to spread false Rumours amongst the Populace. The Dutch People had been taught that the last Battle had entirely ruined the Naval Strength of England, and that their Fleet was gone to destroy the Coasting Trade, and to infult the Sea-Ports of our Island. When therefore in the Space of fix Weeks they faw the Reverse of this, their own Countrymen flying, the English Navy stationed on their Shore, and their whole Commerce at a Stand, their Fury is not to be expressed. They reproached their Governors, not only with want of Courage and Fortune, but also with being deficient in Point of Probity, and endeavouring to impose on a Nation they could not protect. Their Rage, great as it was, received no small Increase from a new Missortune, heavier in itself, and more shameful in its Nature, than any they had yet fustained; yet whether so honourable to the English as some have represented it, I will not take upon me to determine, but leave it to the Decision of the Reader, when he shall have read the best Account of the Matter I am able to give t.

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Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 783. Le Clerc, De Neuville, Vie de Ruyter, Leven Van Tromp. The Dutch Ministers, who in those Times preached as if they had had the Rolls of Destiny lying open before them, affirmed the Fire of London, which happened the September following, to be a Judgment from Heaven for this Action. Some of our own Writers are very angry with it, and with Sir Robert Holmes for performing it: but this is quite absurd, since he acted in Consequence of the Resolution of a

On the 29th of July, the English Fleet weighed Anchor, and steered their Course for the Ulie; but the Wind being contrary, they did not make the Island till the 7th of August, Being then come to Anchor, Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle received intelligence, that, notwithstanding there were very rich Storehouses on the Islands, and a large Fleet of Merchant-men lying between them, yet Ulie and Schelling were very indifferently guarded; upon which it was resolved to attack them forthwith ".

Upon this, a Council of Flag-Officers were called, in order to make the necessary Dispositions for this great Attempt. There it was resolved, that 300 Men should be drawn out of each Squadron, two thirds Land, and one third Seamen, under nine Captains; and the whole to be executed under the Direction of Sir Robert Holmes, Rear-Admiral of the Red, with whom went Sir William Jennings, who, in case it was found expedient to attack both Islands at once, was to command one Division. The Ships appointed for this Enterprize were five Fourth, and three Fifth Rates, five Fire-Ships, and seven Ketches, as Sir Robert Holmes tells us in his Relation of the Affair w.

On the 8th of July, about seven in the Morning, this Squadron weighed from the rest of the Fleet, and came to Anchor about a League from the Buoys, where they met the Prince's Pleasure-Boat called The Fanfan, who had discovered in the Harbour a considerable Fleet of Ships near Usie, which proved to be 170 Merchant-Ships, the least of which was not less than 200 Tons Burthen, with two Men of War, which had lately convoyed near a hundred of the aforesaid Ships from the Northward, homeward-bound, some from the Streights, some from Guinea, some from Russia, some from the East Countries: the rest were outward-bound Ships, all likewise richly laden z.

SIR Robert Holmes considering that, if it should proceed, as his Design was, first to attempt the Land, that numerous Fleet

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Council of War, and is, therefore, commendable in this Respect, whatever may be thought of his Orders, or his Conduct in other Things. See Kennet, Coke's Detection, Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, Echard, Burchet, Rapin. "The Ulie is an Island from which the Dutch Fleets usually sail to the Baltick, it has the Texel on the South, and Schelling on the North. "I take this from the Account by Authority, entitled, a True and Perfect Narrative of the great Success of a Part of his Majesty's Fleet burning one buildred and fixty Dutch Ships within the Ulie. Of this there is an Extract in Kennet. If the Reader considers the Number, the Burthen, and the Trade in which these Ships were employed, he will easily discern the Credit due to the subsequent Account of Damages.

might possibly pour in such Numbers of Men as might render the Success hazardous, resolved to begin with the Ships; and accordingly, having ordered The Advice and The Hampshire to lve without the Buoys, he weighed with the rest of his Fleet; and the Wind being contrary, he turned with much ado into Schelling-Road, where The Tyger came to Anchor, and immediately Sir Robert went on board The Fanfan, and put out his Flag; upon which the Officers came on board him; and there it was ordered, that The Pembroke, which drew the least Water, with the five Fire-Ships, should fall in amongst the Enemy's Fleet with what Speed they could. Captain Browne with his Fire-Ship chose very bravely to lay the biggest Man of War on board, and burnt him downright. Another Fire-Ship running up at the same Time to the other Man of War, he, backing his Sails, escaped the present Execution of the Fire-Ship; but so as to run himself by it on Ground, where he was prefently taken by some of the Long-Boats, and fired. The other three Fire-Ships clapped the three great Merchant-Men on board, which carried Flags in their Main-Tops, and burnt them. This put their Fleet into great Confusion, which Sir Robert Holmes perceiving, made a Sign for all the Officers to come on board again; and presently gave Orders that Sir William Jennings, with all the Boats that could be spared, should take the Advantage, and fall in and burn and destroy all they could; but with a strict Command that they should not plunder. Execution was fo followed, each Captain destroying his Share, some twelve, some fisteen Merchant-Men, that of the whole Fleet there escaped not above eight or nine Ships, one of which was a Guinea Man of 24 Guns, and three small Privateers, those being driven up into a narrower Corner of the Stream, served to protect four or five Merchant-Men that were a-head of them. where it was not possible for our Boats to come at them; though even these few were much damaged v.

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and net. rade redit The next Day, being the 10th of August, it was found more expedient to land on the Island of Schelling, than that of Ulie, which was performed by Sir Robert Holmes, with eleven Companies in his Long-Boats, and he landed with little or no Opposition. When he came on Shore, he left one Company to secure his Boat, and with the other ten, marched three Miles up into the Country, to the capital Town called Brandaris, in which there were upwards of a thousand fine Houses; where keeping five Companies upon the Skirts of the Town, to pre-

vent

y This Account agrees very well with what is said on the same Subject by the Dutch Writers.

vent any Surprize of the Enemy, he sent the other five to set Fire to the Town: but finding them (as his Vigilance was to secure a safe Retreat) somewhat slow to execute that Order, and searing they might be tempted to forget themselves in the Pillage, he was himself forced to set Fire to some Houses on the Windward, the sooner to dispatch the Work, and hasten his Men away, which burnt with such Violence, that in half an Hour's Time, most Part of the Town was in a bright Flame. This Place was reported by those that were found in it, to have been very rich, and so it appears by some of the Soldiers Pockets; but very sew People were to be seen there, having had Time to run away from the Danger, except some old Men and Women, who were used by the English after they fell into their Hands, with all Gentleness and Humanity 2.

This Blow greatly affected the Dutch, who, according to their own Accounts, suffered the Loss of near six Millions of Guilders; and if we take the Ships into this Computation, they confess that they were Losers to the Amount of eleven Millions, or, one Million, one hundred thousand Pounds Sterling. We need not wonder that this wounded deep, and engaged The States to use their utmost Force in fitting out a new

Fleet 3.

As foon as it was ready, the Command was bestowed on de Ruyter, Tromp, being at that Time out of Commission. This Navy consisted of seventy-nine Men of War and Frigates, and twenty-seven Fire-ships b. The first Design they had, was to join the French Squadron, which Louis XIV. had promised to fit out for their Assistance; in this they were disappointed, and after a dangerous Navigation, in which they were more than once chased by a superior English Fleet, they were glad to return, though fired with Indignation at such Usage, which, it is said, wrought so powerfully on the Mind of de Ruyter, as to throw him into a fit of Sickness.

WHEN

This burning of the Town of Brandaris, is somewhat lessened in the Detail given by M. de Neuville, Histoire de Hollande, Tom. iii. p. 287. Some Writers make the Loss sustained by the Dutch still more, viz. 12,000,000 Guilders, or, 1,200,000 l. Sterling. Le diard's Naval History, p. 387. Rapin diminishes the Loss and the Number of Ships. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 785. Le Clerc, de Neuville, Kennet, Columna Rostrata, The Dutch Writers disser much from the English, in respect to these Particulars; but their Accounts are inconsistent with each other. Besides, if they were superior at Sea, how came they not to join the French?

WHEN the French thought the Coast pretty clear, they ventured out with their Fleet; but Sir Thomas Allen attacking them with his Squadron, boarded The Ruby, a fine Ship of 1000 Tons, and 54 Guns and carrying her in a short Time, it so discouraged the French Ministry, that they scarce ventured their Navy out of Sight of its own Shore. But, in the mean time to convince the English that they were determined Enemies, though they did not like fighting, they had Recourse to a Stratagem, or, to call the Thing by its proper Name, they set on Foot a Conspiracy for seizing the Island of Guernsey. In pursuit of this fine Scheme, they sent a Gentleman who was Governor of one of the principal Fortresses of their own Coasts, to negotiate with Major-General Lambert, an old Republican, who was Prisoner in the Island. But the General, it seems, preferred any Government to a French one, and therefore, having made a free Discovery of these Politicians, they were taken and hanged for Spies d. This, methinks, is sufficient to shew that both Courts were in Earnest; which, however, is a Fact fome People then, and not a few Historians now, pretend to doubt.

By the end of the Year 1666, all Parties began to grow weary of War, which was certainly directly opposite to the Interest of both Britain and Holland, and may therefore be justly referred to the Arts of France, and the Situation of M. de Wit, a Man equally fortunate in his Abilities, and unhappy in the Application of them. A Man who understood the Interest of his Country throughly, and in his own Nature was certainly inclined to promote them; but having been engaged from his Birth in the Defigns of a Faction bent to ruin the Authority, Interest, and Credit of the House of Orange, he came to have an Inveteracy against the English Court, which became the more vehement, the less Cause there was for it. He had plunged his Country into this War to gratify his own Humour, and to pin himself effectually on France; and now, when his Countrymen were almost unanimously defirous of Peace, which Motions were well received, and readily complied with in England, he contrived in his own Mind such 2 Method of making War, as he thought would effectually raise the Reputation of his Family, and at the same time cut off the Head of a very honest Gentleman, who, at the Request, and

d Philips's continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 554. Kennet, Echard, Burchet.

by the Consent of the States, had carried on a Correspondence in

England, for facilitating a Peace .

THE King of sweden having offered his Mediation, it was readily accepted on both Sides. On the one Hand, the Plague, the Fire of London, and other National Misfortunes, particularly the Restlessness of Factions, (a Mischief from which we are feldom free) engaged King Charles to be fincere in his Defires of a Peace. The Dutch, on the other Hand, needed it: They were drawn into the War to serve the Purposes of their Miniftry, and many Arts had been practifed to keep them in it, though it was equally against their Interest and Inclinations. Now, therefore, when France found pacific Measures expedient, or rather was convinced that carrying the War on, would ferve only to raise the Reputation of England, and to obscure their own, as well as ruin the Dutch, a Treaty was fet on Foot at Breda, not only at the Desire of The States, but by their express Appointment of Time and Place, in which, they were indulged by King Charles, purely to shew the Integrity of his Resolutions. Whilst this Treaty was thus negotiating, de Wit was resolved to put in Practice his base Project; which, though executed with Success, and esteemed glorious for a Moment, yet, in the End, proved faral to his Country, and more fo to himfelf and his Brother, who had the immediate Conduct and Execution of it f.

When the Pensionary John de Wit was last on board the Dutch Fleet, and, in the Absence of the English Navy, had cruised upon our Coast; he took an Opportunity of sending Persons to sound the Mouth of the River Thames, in order to discover, how far it might be practicable to make any Attempt therein with large Ships; and having by this means sound, with what Facility the Project he had formed, might be executed, he resolved to proceed in it, notwithstanding the Negotiations for Peace were then far advanced. He at first opened himself to the Count d'Estrades, the French Ambassador, who communicated the Design to his Court, where it met with the utmost Approbation, and where Measures were taken for rendering it effectual in its Execution 8. To this End it was necessary King Charles

The Matter is fairly stated in Basnage's Annals, but Mr. de Neuville treats M. Buat, who suffered on this Occasion as a downright Traitor; though he owns he had formerly served his Country with equal Integrity and Courage.

Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 804. de Neuville, Wicquesort, Columna Rostrata, Kennet, &c.

For these Particulars we are indebted to the Letters of Count d'Estrades the French Minister, to the States, which shew very clearly the whole Course of this Intrigue.

Charles should be persuaded, that there was no necessity of fitting out a Fleet for this Year, fince this would have rendered the Defign of the Dutch Statesman, not only more difficult and dangerous, but absolutely impracticable. With a View to this, the Queen Mother (whose Advices were always fatal to this Nation) was persuaded to write her Son a Letter, wherein she informed him, that his most Christian Majesty, and The States-General, had turned their Thoughts entirely on Peace; and that it might have ill Effects, if his Majesty, by fitting out a great Fleet, should alarm them on their Coasts, as in the preceding This Advice agreeing with the King's Temper, and Circumstances, whose Courtiers plundered him, and against whose Measures a Party was formed, many of whom, notwithstanding their Professions of Patriotism, in Reality meant little more than Places and Preferments, we need not wonder he fell so readily into it; for covetous and needy Princes, are alike liable to the greatest Foible in governing, the preferring of present Gain to any future Prospect whatever. Notwithstanding, therefore, his Naval Magazines were never better provided, King Charles ordered only two small Squadrons for the Summer Service, in 1667 h.

THINGS being thus in a Readine's, the last Resolution was taken in Holland, for the immediate Execution of de Wit's Project; and this Resolution was signed by the French Minister, as well as by the Deputies of the States. His most Christian Majesty had promised that a Squadron of his Ships, under the Command of the Duke of Beaufort, should affist therein. However, that the Issue of the Thing might irritate the English against the Dutch only, the French waved the Performance of their Promise; when the Matter, however, was so far advanced that the Dutch found it impossible to go back. Yet the English Ministers were treating all this Time at Breda, where, from the Beginning, there was a fair Appearance for concluding

a Peace i.

THE Pretence made Use of by de Wit, for fitting out a Fleet in the Spring, was the Mischief which had been done to their Navigation by the Privateers from Scotland. In order to check M 2 these,

h Kennet, Columna Rostrata, Burchet.

i In this, the Historians, of both Nations agree. One would wonder how, after duly considering this Fact, any Writer can assert (as the Dutch Historians do) that de Wit's Expedition was necessary to the making of the Peace. King Charles had yielded to a Treaty at the Request of the Dutch; he had left the Manner of negotiating it to them; he had disarmed his victorious Fleet. What Signs, beyond these, could he shew of inclining to Peace?

these. Admiral Van Ghendt was sent with a considerable Fleet into the Frith, with Orders to burn the Coasts and recover fuch Ships as were in those Parts. He appeared before Leith on the 1st of May, and might, if he had thought fit, have done a great deal of Mischief; but he contented himself with cannonading Burnt-Island, to very little Purpose. When the Eng-1/16 Court received the News of this Proceeding, it confirmed them in their Opinion, that there would be no fighting that Year, and that this Expedition was purely to quiet the Minds of the People, enough diffurbed by their late Losses. But de Wit in the mean Time had hastily manned out a large Fleet, under the Command of de Ruyter, on board which he intended to have gone in Person; but the French protested against this Step, and therefore he was at last content to send Cornelius de Wit his Brother. Care had been taken to provide some of the old Republican Officers, to command the Troops which were to make a Defcent; and these also easily procured Pilots to conduct the Dutch into our Rivers and Ports. So wild a Thing is Faction, which, though always covered with fair Pretences of Love for the Public, will yet lead fuch as are deluded thereby to the most flagitious Actions, and fuch as visibly tend to destroy what by their own Principles they should most vigorously defend k!

THE Fleet being ready, failed over to the English Coast, where it was joined by Van Ghendt, and confifted then of feventy Men of War, besides Fire-Ships. On the 7th of June, a Squadron was sent into the River of Thames to perform what they had been so long plotting. On the 10th they attacked Sheerness, which was then unfinished, and in no State of De-Here they found fifteen Iron Guns, and a confiderable Quantity of Naval Stores. Though the Court had scarce any Warning of this Attempt, yet the Duke of Albemarle, Sir Edward Spragge, and other great Officers, had made such Provision for the Defence of the River Medway, by finking Ships in the Passage, throwing a Chain a-cross it, and placing three large Vessels, which had been taken from the Dutch in this War, behind the Chain. The Dutch had the Advantage of a strong Easterly Wind, which encouraged them to endeavour burning our Ships at Chatham, in spite of these Precautions taken to preserve them. It was on the 12th of June, they executed this Defign; which, however, had miscarried, if one Captain Brakell, who was a Prisoner on board their Fleet for some Misdemeanour, had not offered (to wipe out the Memory

k Philips's Chronicle, Ludlow's Memoirs, Kennet, Echard, Columna Rostrata, Burchet, Rapin.

of his former Mistake) to undertake breaking the Chain; which

he gallantly performed 1.

HE then with great Bravery boarded and took one of the English Frigates which guarded the Passage, soon after The Matthias, The Unity, and The Charles the fifth, being the Ships which, as before observed, had been taken by the Dutch, were fet on Fire. The next Day, the Advantage of Wind and Tide continuing, they advanced with fix Men of War and five Fire-Ships, as high, as Upnore-Castle, but were so warmly received by Major Scot, who commanded therein, and Sir Edward Spragge from the opposite Shore gave them so much Diflurbance, that they were obliged to return. However, as they came back, they burnt The Royal Oak, a very fine Ship, and in her Captain Douglass, whose Behaviour ought to perpetuate his Memory. He had received Orders to defend his Ship, which he did with the utmost Resolution; but, having none to retire, he chose to burn with her, rather than live to be reproached with having deferted his Command. On the 14th they carried off the Hull of The Royal Charles, not withstanding all the English could do to prevent it; which was what they had principally at Heart. In their Return, two Dutch Men of War ran ashore in the Medway, and were burnt, which, with eight Fire-Ships confumed in the Action, and 150 Men killed, is all the Loss acknowledged by the Dutch Writers; though it is probable that they really suffered much more m.

DE Ruyter, highly pleased with what he had performed, lest Admiral Van Nes with Part of his Fleet in the Mouth of the Thames, and sailed with the rest to Portsmouth, in hopes of burning the Ships there. Failing in this Design, he sailed Westward to Torbay, where he was likewise repulsed. Then he returned to the Mouth of the Thames, and with twenty-sive Sail came as high as the Hope, where our Squadron lay, under the Command of Sir Edward Spragge. This consisted of eighteen Sail; yet the Admiral not being on board when the Enemy began the Attack, we suffered at first from their Fire-Ships; but Sir Edward repairing with great Diligence to his Command, and being joined by Sir Joseph Jordan, with a few small Ships, quickly forced the Dutch to retire. The like Success attended M 3

I take these Facts from the several Accounts in their Historians and our own; but particularly from the Relations laid before the House of Commons of this whole Affair, of which I shall have Occasion to seek becomes

casion to speak hereaster.

M Basnage Annales des Provinces
Unies, vol. i. p. 804. Le Clerc, De Neuville, Philips, Kennet,

Echard, Burchet, Columna Rostrata.

their Attack on Land-Guard-Fort, which was performed by 1600 Men, commanded by Colonel Doleman a Republican, under the Fire of their whole Fleet : but Governor Darrel, an old Cavalier, beat them off with great Loss. On the 23d Van Nes failed again up the River as far as the Hope, where he engaged Sir Edward Spragge, who had with him five Frigates, and se-venteen Fire Ships. This proved a very sharp Action, at least between the Fire-Ships, of which the Dutch Writers themselves confess they spent eleven to our eight. The next Day the English attacked the Dutch in their Turn, and, notwithstanding their Superiority, forced them to retire, and to burn the only Fire-Ship they had left, to prevent her being taken. On the 25th they bore out of the River with all the Sail they could make, followed at a Distance by Sir Edward Spragge, and his remaining Fire-Ships. On the 26th, in the Mouth of the River they were niet by another English Squadron from Harwich, confisting of five Men of War, and fourteen Fire-Ships. They boldly attacked the Dutch, and grappled the Vice-Admiral of of Zealand, and another large Ship; but were not able to fire them, though they frighted a hundred of their Men into the Sea. The Rear-Admiral of Zealand was forced on Shore, and fo much damaged thereby as to be obliged to return home ".

THE Dutch Fleets, notwithstanding these Disappointments, and though it was now very evident that no Impression could be made, as had been expected, on the English Coasts, continued still hovering about, even after they were informed that the Peace was figned at Breda. Our Writers are pretty much at a Loss to account for this Conduct; but a Dutch Historian has told us very plainly, that Cornelius de Wit ordered our Ports to be founded, and took Pains to observe the Strength of our Maritime Forts, and the Provision made for protecting the Mouths of our Rivers; which shewed plainly, though this was the first, it was not defigned to be the last Visit. These were certainly very provoking Circumstances, and he added to them at his Return a strange Act of Indignity towards the King, and the English Nation, by representing himself in Triumph, and them at his Feet in a pompous Picture, which he caused to be hung up in a public Edifice, to heighten the Infult to the last Degree.

[&]quot;Besides the Authors before-mentioned, the Reader may consult Ludlow's Memoirs, in order to be convinced, that the Dutch, and particularly the de Wits, had our Destruction more at Heart than their own Sasety; and, that this Chatham-Expedition was chiesly directed and executed by our own Fugitives.

But before we speak of the Peace, and of what followed thereupon in *Holland*, it will be requisite to give some Account of such Actions in the War as have not yet been mentioned o.

WHILE the whole Dutch Fleet was employed in alarming our Coasts, Sir Feremiah Smith was sent with a small Squadron Northwards; with which, and the Affiltance of a numerous Fleet of Privateers already abroad for their own Profit, the Dutch Commerce to the Baltic was in a manner ruined, and Multitudes of rich Prizes were daily brought into English Ports. Thus it may be truly faid, that the Nations at this Time changed Characters. The Dutch preferred the Insult at Chatham, which, all Things confidered, was of little or no Confequence to them, to the Preservation of their Trade; and the English endeavoured to make themselves amends for this unexpected Loss of a few Men of War, by taking Numbers of Merchant-Men. Such are the Effects which private Paffions produce in public Affairs! The Indolence and Credulity of King Charles exposed his Subjects and himself to this Stain on their Reputation, and the Fury and Self-Interest of the de Wit Faction exposed, for the fake of furthering their own Purposes, the Trade of their Coutry at present, and its suture Welfare, to extreme Ha-But to return from Men to Things P.

THE English in the West-Indies, took the Islands of St. Eusalia, St. Martin, Bonaira, the Island of Tobago, and
other Places from the Dutch. On the contrary, the Dutch, under the Conduct of Commodore Krynsen, made themselves Masters of Surinam; and the French, affished by the Dutch, almost
deprived the English of their half of the Island of St. Christopher's, after several obstinate Disputes, and the Death of their
Commander Les Salles. Six Frigates, and some other small
Vessels from Barbadoes, sailing to repair this Loss, were so ill
treated by a violent Storm, that they were put out of a Condition to execute their Design, and two or three of the most disabled Ships sell into the Hands of the Enemy; though before
their Missortune, they had burnt two Dutch Ships richly laden,
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These Acts of Indignity and Contempt were not only galling to the King, and such of his Subjects as were truly loyal, but they were also such Marks of rivetted Hate, and implacable Prejudice, as disposed that Prince more than any Thing to receive ill Impressions from France; and, therefore, how wrong soever his subsequent Conduct might be (politically considered) yet the Dutch had apparently themselves to blame. Wicquesort, Columna Rostrata, Echard. Philips's Chronicle, p. 564. Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Lediard, Rapin.

in the Harbour of Los Santos. Some Authors say, this little Fleet was commanded by the Lord Willoughby, and that himself was lost in the Hurricane. The English were more successful in the Neighbourhood of Surinam, where they destroyed the Dutch Colony, took a Fort belonging to the French, and afterwards made themselves Masters of many rich Prizes, at the Expence of the Nation 9.

THE Dutch Admiral Evertz, in Conjunction with Commodore Krynsen, recovered the Island of Tobago, and did a great deal of Mischief upon the Coast of Virginia. In March, 1667, Sir John Harman was sent with a Squadron of twelve Men of War to redress these Mischiefs. He performed all that he was sent for, and effectually cleared the Seas of French and Dutch Rovers; yet he had not been long there, before he found himself pushed by a superior Force. The Dutch Commodore Krynsen, having embarked on board his Squadron 1300 Land Troops, failed to Martinico, where he joined Monsieur de la Bare, who commanded all the Forces of the French King in those Parts. Their Fleet after this Conjunction confished of two and twenty Sail of flout Ships, with which they went to feek the English Squadron upon the Coast of St. Christopher's. On the 10th of Mar, 1667, an Engagement enfued, which lasted with great Vigour for above three Hours, in which the English, notwithstanding the superior Force of the Enemy, obtained a compleat Victory. The Dutch Historians say that, had it not been for the Courage and Conduct of the Officers of their Fleet, the French Admiral had been taken; and, on the other Hand, it is certain that those Officers were so ill satisfied with the Behaviour of the French, that they quitted them upon their Return to St. Christopher's. The English Admiral with his Fleet came foon after thither, burnt the French Admiral, and fix or feven Ships in the Harbour, and either funk himself, or obliged the French to fink, all the rest of the Ships that were there, except two, and this with the Loss only of eighty Men '.

In the first of these Engagements, our Writers have observed, that the Admiral Sir John Harman was exceedingly ill of the Gout, so as not to be able to stir. On the first string, however, he started up and went upon Deck, gave his Orders throughout the Engagement, and when it was over, became as lame as before. By these Victories he became Master in those Seas, and took from the Dutch their Plantation at Surinam; but, however, it was

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^q Burchet, British Empire in America.

r Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 561. Kennet, Echard, Basnage, Le Clerc.

restored by the Treaty, as not taken within the Time limited

by that Treaty for the Conclusion of Hostilities.

THERE were three diffinct Treaties of Peace figned at Breda, with the Dutch, the French, and the Danes, by the English Ministers, who were Lord Holles and Mr. Coventry; which was ratified on the 24th of August, 1667. The Terms upon which this Peace was made, were fafe and tolerable at least, though not so glorious and beneficial as might have been expected after fuch a War. By it the Honour of the Flag was secured, and the Island of Poleron, to prevent further Disputes, was yielded to the Dutch. In the West-Indies, we kept all that we had taken, except Surinam; and the French were obliged to restore what they had taken in those Parts from us. Here it may not be amiss to observe, that the Loss of Poleron, and the Spice-Trade, was not so much owing to this Treaty, as to the Conduct of Cromwell, to whom it was yielded, when, after turning out his Masters, he made Peace with the Dutch. In obtaining it, he confulted his Honour, and feemed to have the Interest of the Nation at Heart. But, knowing of how great Consequence it was to the Dutch, he consented, that, paying him an annual Pension, they should keep it, facrificing manifestly thereby the public Interest to his own. The Island being thus out of our Possession, and being of greater Consequence than ever to the Dutch, they would not at the Time of this Treaty depart from their Pretentions t.

It is certain that the King made this Peace against his Will, and without obtaining what he sought and expected from the War. The Motives which induced him thereto were chiefly these: first, the Disorders in his domestic Affairs, which disquieted him with great Reason. He sound there was a strong Spirit of Disaffection amongst his Subjects, which produced the late Missortune at Chatham; and in Case the War had continued would have probably had worse Effects. And secondly, the French King's Design was become apparent, and his Claim to the greatest Part of the Spanish Netherlands openly avowed. If therefore the Quarrel between Great-Britain and Holland had subsisted any longer, the Balance of Power on the Continent must have been lost. Such were the true Grounds of the Peace

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Columna Rostrata, p. 201. Kennet, Burchet.

* Basnage
Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i p. 806.

* What I
assert above. the Reader will find confirmed by two unexceptionable
and irrefragable Witnesses, whose Knowledge cannot be doubted, or
Credit questioned. As to the Disposition of the People to set up a
Republic

at Breda; and whoever considers the Situation of Things at home and abroad at that Juncture, will think it, upon the

whole, as good a Peace as could have been expected.

WE fucceeded better in our Negotiations this Year in other Parts. The worthy Earl of Sandwich concluded, on the 13th of March, a Treaty with Spain, whereby all old Differences were settled, the Friendship between the two Crowns renewed and strengthened, and our Commerce much extended. Soon after this, his Lordship went to Liston, and there, by his Mediation, a Peace was made between the Crowns of Spain and Portugal, whereby the latter came to be owned an independent Kingdom, and an End was put to a War which had already weakened each of them greatly, and might in the End have been fatal to both. Towards the Close of this Year, his Majesty sent Sir William Temple into Holland, in order to enter into a stricter Correspondence with the States, and to concert with them the Means of preserving Flanders from falling into the Hands of the French. This shews that his Majesty for the present laid aside his Resentments for what had been done against him personally by the Dutch; and this, for the fake of giving a Check to the too great Power of France. In consequence of Sir William's Negotiation, was concluded the famous Triple Alliance between England, Sweden, and Holland; the most glorious Step taken in this Reign, and which, steadily pursued, would have crushed at the Beginning, that ambitious Prince, whose Projects never ceased disturbing his Neighbours, till after being humbled by the Arms of Britain, he came to know himself, and deplore them on his Death-bed w. But to return to our more immediate Business.

THE Dutch War being over, his Majesty sent Sir Thomas Allen with a stout Squadron into the Mediterranean, to repress the Insults of the Algerines, who taking Advantage of our Disferences, had disturbed both the English Commerce and the Dutch. The latter sent Admiral Van Ghendt with a Squadron, to secure their Trade, and he, having engaged six Corsairs, forced them to sty to their own Coasts, where probably they would have escaped, if Commodore Beach, with sour English Frigates, had not fallen upon them, and after a close Chace, obliged

Republic again here, and the Offers of Holland and France on that Head, Ludlow is full in his Memoirs, vol iii. p. 184, &c. As to the King's Judgment on the State of Affairs, Sir William Temple gives a candid and copious Account in his Letters, in which he also concurs with the King in his Opinion.

W Philips's Chronicle, Kennet, Parker's History of his own Times, Earl of Sandwich's Journal.

obliged them to run aground. In this Situation, they were attacked by the English and the Dutch in their Boats, being abandoned by their respective Crews, were all taken, and a great Number of Christian Slaves of different Nations released. The English Commodore presented fixteen Dutch Slaves, and received from him twenty English by way of Exchange; but the Algerine Ships being leaky were burnt. The same Year some of our Frigates attacked seven of the Enemies best Ships near Cape Gaeta. The Admiral and Vice-Admiral of the Algerines carried fifty-fix Guns each; their Rear-Admiral the biggest Ship in the Squadron, carried fixty, and the least forty. Yet, after a sharp Engagement, the Vice-Admiral was funk, and the rest forced to retire, most of them miserably disabled. At the Close of the Year 1669, Captain Kempthorn (afterwards Sir John), in The Mary Rose, a small Frigate, engaged seven Algerine Men of War, and after a very warm Action, forced them to sheer off, being in no Condition to fight any longer; of which we have a particular Account *.

IT is somewhat extraordinary, that, considering the Dutch, as well as we, were concerned in attacking these Pirates, we have no better Account of the War that was carried on against them, or of the Force they then had, but what we are left to collect as we can, from the scattered Accounts of particular Engagements with them. The only Lift I have feen, is of the State of their Navy in 1668, and then it confisted of twentyfour Ships, great and small, that is, from about 50 to 20 Guns: and they had likewife fix new Ships of Force upon the Stocks. Yet, this pitiful Enemy continued to disturb, and even to distress the Commerce of both the Maritime Powers for several Years. At last, Sir Edward Spragge was sent, in 1670, with a strong Squadron of Men of War and Frigates, to put an End to the War. He cruised for some Days before their Capital, without receiving any fatisfactory Answer to his Demands. Upon this, he failed from thence, with fix Frigates and three Fireships, to make an Attempt upon a considerable Number of those Corfairs which lay in the Haven of Bugia. By the Way, he loft the Company of two of his Fire-ships; yet not discouraged by this Accident, he perfifted in his Resolution. Being come before the Place, he broke the Boom at the Entrance of the Haven, forced the Algerines a-ground, and (notwithstanding the Fire of the Castle) burnt seven of their Ships, which mounted

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^{*} This Account, together with a Print representing the whole Action, engraved by Hollar, is inserted in Ogleby, in his Description of Africa, p. 218.

from twenty-four to thirty-four Guns, together with three Prizes: after which he destroyed another of their Ships of War near Tadellis. These and other Missortunes caused such a Tumult among the Algerines, that they murdered their Dey, and chose another, by whom the Peace was concluded to the Satisfaction of the English, an the 9th of December, in the same Year; and as they were now sufficiently humbled, and saw plainly enough that a Continuance of a War with England must end in their Destruction, they kept this Peace better than

any they had made in former Times y.

WE are now come to the third Dutch War (frequently called the second, because it was so in respect to his Reign) and to account for the beginning of it, will be no easy Matter. It has been before shewn, that the last Treaty of Peace was made by King Charles against his Will, and on Terms, to which Force only made him confent. We need not wonder, therefore, that he still retained a Dislike to the Dutch. Besides, there had been many other Things done, sufficient to distaste any Crowned Head. For Instance, their Factory at Gambron, in Persia, after the Peace burnt the King in Effigie, having first dressed up the Image in an old second-hand Suit, to express the Distress in which they knew him in his Exile; for this, as the King thought it beneath him to demand, fo the States looked upon themselves as above giving him any Satisfaction 2. They likewise suffered some Medals to be struck; in which their Vanity was very apparent. For Instance, because the Triple Alliance had given a Check to the Power of France, and their Mediation had been accepted in the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, they were pleased to boast of giving Peace to Europe, and of being Arbiters among contending Princes. Here, however, it must be owned, that in making War at this Juncture, King Charles acted under the Direction of French Councils. He had about him the worst set of Ministers that ever cursed this, or perhaps any other Nation. Men of different Faiths (if bad statesmen

Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, Kennet, Burchet, Basnage, De Neuville, Le Clerc, du Mont.

This was very much institled on in those Days, and the rather, because Things of a like Nature were practised by the Dutch in Russia, and other Places. As to the Fact before us, we have a long Detail of it in Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, vol. i. p. 775. It is mentioned by Pasnage, and de Neuville, who both own, that it was a base and unjustifiable Outrage. Instead, however, of attributing this to the Dutch Nation, we ought in Justice to refer it to the Spirit of the de Wit Ministry, which, was its true Source.

statesmen have any), and who agreed only in promoting those Arbitrary Acts, which, while they seemed to make their Mafter great, in reality ruined his, and exalted their Power. This infamous Crew, (for however decked with Titles by their Mafter, no Englishman will transmit their Names to Posterity with Honour) were then called, the CABAL: and these engaged the King to liften to the Propositions of his Most Christian Majesty, who, as he had before deceived him to serve the Dutch, so he now offered to deceive the Dutch, to gratify King Charles: and that the King might not hesitate at this step, Louis le Grand betraved his Creature de Wit, and discovered a Project he had fent him, for entering into an offensive Alliance against England; which, with other Articles for his private Advantage, determined our Prince to take a step prejudicial to the Protestant Interest, repugnant to that of the Nation, and dangerous to the Balance of Power in Europe2.

By Virtue of a secret Treaty with France, this War was to end in the total Destruction of the Republic of Holland. Part of its Dominions was to be added to those of France, and the rest to fall to the share of England. In Order to have a Pretence for breaking with them, the Captain of The Merlin Yatch. with Sir William Temple's Lady on board, had Directions to pass through the Dutch Fleet, and on their not striking to his Flag, was commanded to fire; which he did, and was rewarded for it. The Pretence thus fecured, the French next undertook to lull the Dutch asleep, as they had done us, when our ships were burnt at Chatham; and this too they performed, by offering their Mediation to accommodate that Difference which they had procured, and upon which the Execution of all their schemes depended. Yet de Wit trusted to this; till, as the Dupe of France. and the scourge of his own Nation, he fell a sacrifice to the Fury of a Free People. The War once resolved on, Sir Robert Holmes, who began the former by his Reprisals in Guinea, had Orders to open this too, though without any previous Declaration, by attacking the Smyrna Fleet b.

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THIS squadron of his Majesty's ships was commanded by Sir Robert Holmes, in The St. Michael, as Admiral; the Earl of

Offery,

The Cabal was a word very luckily chosen, since it was composed of the initial Letters of their Titles, which were Clissord, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. As to the Justice of my Account of them, the Reader may consult Kennet, Echard, Rapin, Temple, Parker, Burnet, and Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde.

b Kennet's Compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 3'10. Philips, Echard, Burnet, Rapin

Offery, in The Refolution, as Vice-Amiral; and Sir Fretchville Holles, as Rear-Admiral, in The Cambridge. They cruised in the Channel on purpose to execute this scheme; of which, however, the Dutch had some Notice, and sent Advice-boats to direct their Fleet to steer Northwards. But this Advice came too late: for they were already fo far advanced, that it was thought more dangerous to return than to proceed, and therefore in a Council of War it was refolved to hold on their Course. On the 13th of March, five of our Frigates fell in with this Fleet, which confisted of about fifty fail of Merchant-ships, and fix Men of War. When the English Vessels came near them, they fired, in order to make them strike, and lower their Top-sails: which they refused to do. Upon this the Fight began, which lasted till Night, and was renewed the next Morning, when the Dutch Fleet was in a Manner ruined, five of their richest Merchant-men were taken, their Rear-Admiral was boarded by Captain John Holmes, Brother to the Admiral, and taken, but foon after funk; and the rest of the Men of War were very rudely handled. The Dutch Historians, however, set a good Face upon the Matter, and fay, that their Seamen behaved very bravely. This is true; but they fuffered deeply for all that: and besides, this was the Beginning of Hostilities, and a necessary Prelude to So the States understood it, and immediately to the War. dispatched Deputies hither, and to the French King, to sue for Peace c.

In this, as in the former Dispute with the Dutch, such Ships as had been detained in Port, were dismissed on both Sides, and in the midst of a cruel War, the Dutch professed all imaginable Esteem for the English Nation: and, on the other hand, King Charles offered his Royal Protection to such as thought fit to quit their Country in its present calamitous Situation, and take Shelter in his Dominions. The War was folemnly proclaimed, on the 28th of March, 1672, in the Cities of London and Westminster; and great Pains were taken to impose upon the World, a gross and groundless Notion, that it was undertaken at the Instance, or at least with the Concurrence, of the People in general: whereas they knew their Interest too well, not to difcern how little this Measure agreed with it; and therefore, though the King had then a Parliament much to his Mind, yet he found it extremely difficult to obtain Supplies: while the Dutch in the midst of all their Miseries, went on receiving fixty Millions of their Money (which is between five and fix Millions

Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. ii. p. 193. Le Clerc, De Neuville, Philips, Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin.

Millions of ours) annually from their Subjects. So great Difference there is between Taxes levied by Authority, and Mo-

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THE French King, that he might feem to perform his Treaty with the English better than he had done that with the Dutch, fent the Count d'Estrees, Vice-Admiral of France, with a very large Squadron to join the English Fleet. He arrived at St. Helens on the 3d of May; and immediately afterwards, the King went down to Portsmouth, and, to shew his Confidence in his new Ally, went on board the French Admiral, where he remained some Hours. Our Fleet in a short time sailed to the Downs, the Duke of York as Admiral wearing the Red, and the Earl of Sandwich the Blue: soon after, the French Squadron joined them, their Admiral having the White Flag; and then the Fleet confisted of one hundred and one sail of Men of War, besides Fire-Ships and Tenders. Of these the English had fixty five Ships of War, and on board them 4092 Pieces of Cannon, and 23,530 Men. The French Squadron confifted of thirty-fix Sail, on board of which were 1926 Pieces of Cannon, and about 11,000 Men. The Dutch in the mean Time were at Sea with a very confiderable Fleet, confisting of 91 stout Men of War, 54 Fire-Ships, and 23 Yatchs. On the 9th of May, they were feen off Dover, and the 13th of the same Month a Dutch Squadron chased The Gloucester and some other Ships, under the Cannon of Sheerness .

THE English Fleet were at Anchor in Solebay, on the 28th of May when the Dutch fell in with them, and, if they had not spent too much Time in Council, had certainly surprized them. As it was, many of the English Captains were forced to cut their Cables, in order to get Time enough into the Line. The Engagement began between seven and eight in the Morning, when de Ruyter attacked the Red Squadron in the Center, and engaged the Admiral, on board of which was his Royal Highness the Duke of York, for two Hours, forcing his Highness at last to remove to another Ship. The Dutch Captain Van Brackel attacked the Earl of Sandwich in The Royal James; and, while they were engaged, almost all the Squadron of Van Ghendt sell upon the Earl's Ship. His Lordship behaved with amazing In-

trepidity,

d Philips, Kennet, Burchet, Rapin, Basnage, le Clerc, de Neuville.

e It is generally believed, and indeed with good Reason, that Count d'Estrees had Orders to look on rather than fight; a Conduct agreeable to that pursued by the same Court in the former War, when they pretended to assist the Dutch; as the Reader may perceive, by comparing what is here said, with the Account before given, p. 168, &c.

strepidity, killed Admiral Van Ghendt himself, sunk three Fire-Ships and a Man of War, that would have laid him on board; but then, having lost all his Officers and two thirds of his Men, his battered Ship was grappled, and set on Fire by a fourth Fire-Ship. Some of his Men escaped, yet the Earl continued on board till the Flames surrounded him, and jumped through them into the Sea where he perished; but lest behind him a Name immortal, and which will ever be revered by such as esteem the

Valour of an Officer, or the Integrity of a Patriot .

THE Death of their Admiral, with the furious Attack of part of the Blue Squadron, coming in though too late, to the Earl of Sandwich's Affiftance threw this part of the Dutch Fleet, which had been commanded by Van Ghendt into Confusion, and forced them to stand off. This gave an Opportunity for the Blue Squadron to join the Red, and to affift the Duke of York, who deferted by the French, was in the utmost Danger of being oppressed by the Squadrons of de Ruyter and Bankert. About this Time Cornelius Evertz, Vice-Admiral of Zealand, was killed, and de Ruyter and Allemonde narrowly escaped being burnt by Fire-Ships: but when the English thought themselves secure of Victory, the scattered Squadron of Van Ghendt came in to the Affistance of their Countrymen, and again rendered doubtful the Fortune of the Day 8.

ALL this Time the French, who composed the White Squadron, instead of seconding the Efforts of the English, kept as far out of Danger as they could, and left our Fleet to fustain the whole Force of the Enemy, at a Disadvantage of three to two. But, notwithstanding this vast Inequality of Numbers, the Fight continued with great Obstinacy till towards the Evening, when Victory declared itself for the English. Five or fix of the Enemies Fire-Ships were funk by an English Man of War, and Sir Foseph Fordan of the Blue Squadron, having the Advantage of the Wind, pierced through the Dutch Fleet, and put it into the utmost Confusion; while a Fire-Ship clapped their Admiral de Ruyter on board, and it was with great Difficulty that he escaped being burnt or taken. As it grew dark, de Ruyter collecting his Fleet in the best Order he could, fought, retreating, and, as the best Dutch Historians say, quitted the Place of Fight, and steered Northwards h.

As the French King had by this Time over-run a great Part of their Country, the States, by the Advice of de Wit (whose Brother

Philips, Kennet, Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Basnage, Le Clerc, de Neuville. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. ii. p. 207, 208. 1 bid. p. 209. Leven Van de Ruyter, p. 675. de Neuville.

Brother had been present in this Fight, seated under a Canopy, as if he had been a sovereign Prince) assumed to themselves the Honour of beating the English. However, they were so modest as to make no Rejoicings for this supposed Victory; and the Distress their Affairs were in, might well excuse their Departure on this Occasion from Truth. Their People were already disposed to destroy their Governors, through Madness at the Sight of the Cruelties exercised by the French; and if to these there had been joined the News of a Deseat at Sea, one can scarce conceive how the Republic could have been preserved. As it was, the Populace insulted Cornelius de Wit on his Return, and framing to themselves an imaginary Quarrel between him and de Ruyter, would willingly have killed him for an Offence he never committed !

THE English, on the other Hand, had all the Marks that could be defired of a dear-bought Victory. They carried off The Staveren, a large Dutch Man of War; whereas the Enemy took none of ours. They kept their Post while de Ruyter made the best of his Way home. All our Relations made the Victory clear, tho' not of any great Consequence; while de Ruyter himself, in his Letter to the States, did not so much as claim it, but rather the contrary. Cornelius de Wit, indeed, was of another Opinion; but therein his Interest dictated rather than his Judgment. The only Objection that could be made to our Claim was, not following the Dutch to their own Coasts; and, if we consider the Behaviour of the French in the Battel, this will appear no Objection at all. As to the Loss, it was pretty equal on both Sides. We had four Men of War funk or disabled, but they were small Ships; whereas the Dutch lost three of the best in their Fleet; one funk, another burnt, and the third taken; a fourth called, The Great Holland, commanded by the brave Captain Brakell, was entirely ruined. As for the French, notwithstanding all their Caution, they lost two Men of War, and their Rear-Admiral Mr. de la Rabiniere. Of Persons of Note, besides the Earl of Sandwich, there were slain Captain Dighy of The Henry, Captain Pearce of The St. George, Captain Waterworth of The Ann, Sir Fretcheville Holles who commanded The Cambridge, Sir John Fox of The Prince, and Captain Hannam of The Triumph. Of our Voluntiers, there fell the Lord Maidstone, Mr. Montague, Sir Philip Carteret, Sir Charles Harboard, two of the Duke of York's Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, Mr. Trevantan, and many others. Of private Men, about 2500

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i Basnage, le Clerc, de Neuville, Vie de Ruyter, du Mont. Vol. II.

were killed, and as many wounded. The Dutch did not think fit to publish any List, though their Loss without Question was as great; since de Ruyter says in his Letter, it was the hardest

fought Battel he ever faw k.

Most of our Writers, even of Naval History, pass over in Silence the remaining Service performed in this Year; because it did not answer the mighty Expectations of the Ministry, by whom the most sanguine Schemes were contrived. But, as Truth ought on all Occasions to be preferred to every Thing, so I think myself obliged to report fairly the extravagant Designs in which we embarked, and the Means by which we were disappointed, not more perhaps to our Neighbours Advantage than our own; for when Wars made by Princes are against the Interest of their People, it often happens that a Disappointment of

the former, proves a kind of Victory to the latter 1.

On the Return of the Dutch Fleet to their own Coasts, it was laid up for want of Gunpowder, that which was on board being fent to the Army. The States perceiving their Authority almost lost, and their Country on the very Brink of Ruin. resolved once more to try the Force of Entreaties, with which View they fent four Deputies to England, and as many to the The Bufiness of the former was to shew the Dan-French King. ger of the Protestant Religion, the approaching Ruin of the Balance of Europe, and the ill Consequences which must follow, even to England itself, from the further Profecution of the War. As to the latter, they were charged to offer any Satisfaction to his Most Christian Majesty that he should be pleased to require. The Arrival of the Deputies in England had very different Effects; it alarmed the Court, and filled the Nation with Con-The King, who was then in the Hands of the CABAL, treated them with a Haughtiness as little agreeable to his Temper, as it ill fuited his Dignity. Instead of hearing and giving them an Answer in Person, as he was wont on such Applications, he was pleased to send four of the CABAL to confer with them, in order to know what Proposals they had to make, and afterwards fent over with them the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Arlington, and the Viscount Halifax into Holland,

k Philips, Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin, History of the Dutch War. 1 Mr Philips, in his Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, mentions our Fleet missing the Dutch East-India Ships, p. 587, but speaks not a Word of this Invasion. Bishop Kennet is also entirely silent; and Burchet, because there was nothing done, seems unwilling to let his Readers know there was any Thing intended. Mr. Colliber, in his Columna Rostrata, relates the Matter fairly, but in very few Words, p. 227.

if he intended to treat there; whereas the true Delign was to be rid of the Deputies, the Sight of whom drew the Compassion of the Nation, who confidered the Dutch no longer as their Rivals in Trade, but as a Protestant People, sacrificed to a French and Popish Interest m. On the Arrival of these Lords in Holland, they made most extravagant Demands. Such as ten Millions of Guilders for the Expence of the War, an annual Tribute of one hundred thousand for the Liberty of fishing, the perpetual Stadtholdership for the Prince of Orange, and his Issue Male. All these were moderate Articles to the rest; for they infifted on a Share in their East-India Trade, the Possession of the City of Sluys in Flanders, and the Islands of Cadzant, Walcheren, Goeree, and Voorn. After the Proposal of these intolerable Conditions, the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Arlington, deferting their Collegue, went away to the French Camp, and there concluded an Agreement, in the Name of their own Prince, without his Instructions, with the French King; the principal Point of which was, that neither should make a separate Peace with the Dutch ". As for the Deputies fent to his Most Christian Majesty, they were talked to in the Stile of a Conqueror, and fo fent back to spread Despair through their Country; which they did so effectually, that the Inhabitants drew from thence their Safety; for, feeing no Hopes of living better than in Slavery, they generously resolved to lay aside all Treaties, and to die free °.

In the mean Time the French and English Fleets being perfectly refitted, and the latter having taken on board a large Bo-N 2 dy

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m I have entered farther into this Matter than I should otherwise have done, for two Reasons. First, this was the grand Expedition, and had it taken Effect, would have put an End to the War, and to the Republic of Holland. Lewis XIV. was in Utrecht, the Bishop of Munster before Groningen, and had the English landed, the Zealanders were inclined to submit. Secondly, this was apparently the favourite Scheme of the Cabal. Shaftesbury at Home preached up the Destruction of Holland. Buckingham and Arlington were Abroad, intent on putting his Doctrine in Practice. This Attempt therefore was Critical, and its Miscarriage saved Holland certainly, Britain consequentially, and probably all Europe. n This whole Affair is very fairly stated in the compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 315-318, where from Secretary Coventry's Remarks, it looks as if these Lords acted in their Negotiation with the French King, rather as Deputies from the Cabal, than as Ambassadors from Charles II. and from what followed, one would imagine the King too faw their Conduct in this Light. Basnage, Le Clerc, de Neuville, Vie de Tromp, du Mont, &c.

dy of Land-Forces, failed again for the Dutch Coasts, with a Defign to make a Descent on Zealand, the only Province into which the French had not carried their Arms by Land. Here they found the Dutch Fleet; but not thinking proper to attack them among the Sands, they deferred the Execution of their Defigns, and blocked up the Maefe and Texel; which de Ruyter (having strict Orders from the States not to hazard a Battel) though he faw with Concern, yet wanted Power to prevent. The Duke of York was refolved to debark on the Texel P the Body of Troops on board his Fleet. The Occasion was favourable in all Respects; the French, and the Bishop of Munfler, were in the Heart of the Dutch Territories, fo that no great Force could be drawn together to refift them on Shore; and the Coast was so low and flat, that it looked as if nothing but a superior Force could have secured the Dutch from this Invasion. It was the third of July this Resolution was taken; and it was intended that their Forces should have landed the next Flood. But Providence interposed in Favour of a free People, and faved them from a Yoke which feemed already to press their Necks. The Ebb, instead of fix, continued twelve Hours, which defeated the intended Descent for that Time; and the Storm that role the Night following, forced the Fleet out to Sea, where they struggled for some Time with very foul Weather, and, the Opportunity being quite loft, returned without performing any Thing to the English Shore. The Dutch Clergy magnified this Accident into a Miracle; and though some of our Writers have thereupon arraigned them of Superstition, yet I must own, that I think their Excess of Piety in this Respect, very pardonable; especially if we consider, there could not be a higher Stroke of Policy, at that Time, than to perfuade a Nation, struggling against superior Enemies, they were particularly favoured by Heaven 9.

AFTER this Disappointment, there was no other Action thought of at Sea for this Year, except the sending Sir Edward Spragge, with a Squadron, to disturb the Dutch Herring-Fishery; which

P The Texel, though a small Island, is yet the most considerable of those which, lying in a straight Line in the German Ocean, cover the Mouth of the Zuyder-zee. 4 Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. ii. p. 264. Where this extraordinary Accident is justly stated, and fairly accounted for. The Wonder did not consist so much in an Ebb of twelve Hours, as in the Time in which it happened; for though the like has fallen out, before and since, about the Equinoxes, yet in July it never happened but at this Juncture, when the swelling of the Waters in the I, and the Zuyder-zee, repelled the Flood.

which he performed with a Moderation that became so great a Man, contenting himself with taking one of their Vessels, when he saw that was sufficient to disperse the rest. But while the War seemed to slumber in Europe, it raged sufficiently in the

West and East-Indies.

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SIR Tobias Bridges, with five or fix Ships, and a Regiment of Foot from Barbadoes, made himself Master of the Island of Tobago, taking about four hundred Prisoners, and five hundred Slaves. On the other Side, the Dutch, with five or fix hundred Men, possessed themselves of the Island of St. Helena, lying off the Coast of Africa: for the Fort not being defensible on the Land-Side, the English Governor and his People, after having feveral Times repulsed the Enemy, retired with all their most valuable Effects on board some English and French Ships, as finding it impossible to preserve the Island after their Landing. But Commodore Mondy, being fent with four Men of War to convoy the English East-India Fleet, and perceiving on his Arrival at St. Helena, what had happened, resolved to attempt to retake it: He was the rather induced to take this Resolution, from his Want of fresh Water. Accordingly, landing some Men on that Side of the Island which is most accessible, and at the fame Time attacking the Fort with his Ships, he eafily fucceeded in his Defign. The Island being thus retaken, it served the English as a Net to inclose and take the Enemy's Ships, for a Dutch East-India-Ship, called The Europe, coming to St. Helena, with a new Governor on board, was seized. And soon after, fix others appearing in the Sight of the Island, the English Commodore, the better to confirm them in the Opinion that their Countrymen were still in Possession, caused the Dutch Flag to be displayed from the Fort; which Stratagem had so good Effect, that the East-India Ships approaching nearer, their Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral were taken, with an immense Quantity of Silver on board; as would the others likewise have been, had not the English discovered themselves somewhat too On the other Side, the Hollanders, who attempted the Island Bombay, were beaten off with great Loss: But near Masalpatnam, thirteen Dutch Men of War and some other Vessels being somewhat rashly engaged by ten English Men of War and Merchant Ships, there happened a long and bloody Fight, which ended with the Death of the Dutch Vice-Admiral John Frederickson, and the taking three English Merchant-Ships. So that the Lofs of the two Nations was pretty equal, though possibly the Dutch

Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 588.

Dutch esteem themselves Gainers. All the Time Commerce suffered exceedingly on both Sides. Plantations were ruined; and the French, who, before this War, had neither Skill in Navigation, nor in the Art of Fighting at Sea, as their own Writers consess, improved in both, at the Expence of Britain and Holland. Thus their End was plainly answered, while the Maritime Powers were fighting as much against their Inclinations as their Interest, as it is necessary for us to shew.

As the Rancour which the Dutch had shewn against the Englifb, and their most unjustifiable Behaviour in respect to the King's Person, were not so much owing to their own Prejudices as to the Arts of the de Wits; and as they plainly faw, that this War, and all its Miseries, came upon them through the Vanity of their Governors, and from the Resentment King Charles still had for the Action at Chatham, contrived by John, and executed by Cornelius de Wit; fo they turned their Rage upon these two Brothers, and the rest of their Faction, obliged the States to repeal the perpetual Edict, which followed the Conclusion of the last War, and took away the Office of Stadtholder for ever; advanced the Prince of Orange to that high Dignity, and foon after, in a Fit of popular Fury, barbarously murdered the de Wits, as if the Blood of these Men could have restored that Peace, which, but for their Schemes had never been loft. Nay, to shew how throughly they were cured of those fatal Preposlesfions which had brought upon them the Naval Force of fo potent a Neighbour, the People on the first Arrival of the English Ambassadors, thronged about them, and cried out, God bless the King of England! God bless the Prince of Orange, and the Devil take the States. They hoped, and with great Reason, that these Testimonies of their sincere Desire of Peace, the Ruin of the Louvestein Faction, and the Advancement of his Nephew the Prince of Orange, would have pacified our King; and they were infinitely concerned when they found themselves mistaken. They did not, however, as before, vent their Spleen in violent Acts of personal Malice, or Disrespect towards the King; but contented themselves with carrying on the War with Courage and Resolution, and at the same Time omitted no Opportunity of fignifying their earnest Desire of Peace t.

In England, the Credit of the CABAL, which had been long lost with the People, began to decline with the King; and the Parliament, though very loyal, yet in granting a large Supply to the

⁸ Columna Rostrata, p. 230, 231. Basnage, le Clerc.

[†] Basnage, Wicquesort, le Clerc, Histoire de Corn. & Jean de Wit, de Neuville, du Mont.

the King, would not own the Dutch War; but in granting it, borrowed an Expression from the Kings's Speech, and declared it to be for the King's extraordinary Occasions. They likewife fell warmly upon Matters of Religion, and paffed an Act, fince fufficiently famous, under the Title of the Test-Act, which putting it out of the Power of Papills to continue in any public Employments, Lord Clifford was foon after obliged to quit the Treasury, and the Duke of York immediately declined the Command of the Fleet. These were Changes which had a natural Tendency to bring Things about again to their proper Places: yet the Dutch War was carried on for another Year, through the Influences of their Councils who began it; and, which must appear extremely odd to any Man who is a Stranger to the Arts practifed in Courts, the very People who promoted the War, fecretly practifed the Defeat of those Measures by which alone it could be purfuedwith Honour. For this I know no Reasons that have been asfigned; and therefore I venture to speak my own Opinion, that it proceeded from a Desire in the Ministry to gain a Pretence for making a Peace from some Want of Success in the War. when it was to be carried on under the Command of Prince Rupert, who, though he was too wife to be fond of this Service, was yet too honest, and too brave a Man to neglect his Duty ".

NOTWITHSTANDING it was resolved early in the Year 1673, that Prince Rupert should command the Fleet, yet no Care was taken to fit it out in Time, and much less to furnish him with fuch Officers as were agreeable to him. Sir Robert Holmes was laid afide, though formerly fo much careffed, merely because he was in his Highness's Favour, and Sir Edward Spragge sent in his flead; who not long after went into France on a fecret Commission, without Prince Rupert's knowing any thing of his Business. With the like View, Sir John Harman was appointed his Vice-Admiral, when he was known to have furvived the great Abilities he once had; and befides, was fo ill of the Gout when he went on board, that he was not able to move either Hand or Foot, or so much as to stir out of his Cabbin. The Prince expostulated in vain on these and many other Hardships, of which he could obtain no Redress; and therefore in the beginning of the Month of April, hearing the Dutch Fleet was at Sea, and intended to come and fink many Hulks filled with Lead and Stones in the Mouth of the River, he with much Industry got together

w Memoirs of what passed in Christendom, from 1672, to 1679, by Sir William Temple, Welwood's Memoirs, Bishop Parker's History of his own Times, Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin.

together as many of the fourth and fifth Rate Ships as he could, and with some Fire-Ships, sailed out and prevented them. About the middle of May, the Fleet, though indifferently provided, was ready for the Sea; but then the great Difficulty was, how to join our good Allies, the French, who were then at Brest, and who frankly declared, that they were resolved not to stir till our Fleet was in the Channel. As the Dutch laboured Day and Night to strengthen their Navy, his Highness saw the Necessity of joining the French early, and as a Proof of his high Courage, as well as great Skill in Maritime Affairs, he passed in spite of the Enemy, then riding at the Gun Fleet, through the Passage called The Narrow, and this too against the Wind; which so surprized the Dutch, that, seeing the End of their lying there lost, they

failed back to their own Ports w.

THE Design of our Court was the same this Year that it had been the last, that is to say, to make a Descent on the Dutch Coast; and with this View, there were a considerable Number of Land-Troops put on board the Navy. His Majesty and his Royal Highness the Duke of York, visited the Fleet on the 19th of May, and in a Council of War held in their Presence, it was resolved to attack the Enemy upon their own Coast in case they could not be provoked to quit it. In pursuance of this Resolution, Prince Rupert stood over towards the Coast of Helland, and found de Ruyter with the Dutch Fleet, riding within the Sands at Schonevelt, in a Line between the Rand and the Stony Bank, which was a very advantageous Situation; but his Highness persisted in his Resolution of attacking them. On the 28th in the Morning, about nine o'Clock, a detached Squadron, of 35 Frigates and 13 Fire-Ships, were fent to draw the Enemy out, which was very eafily done; for de Ruyter presently advanced in good Order, and the English light Ships retreating, put their own Fleet in some Disorder. This Engagement happened on very unequal Terms: the Confederate Fleet confifted of 84 Men of War, besides Fire-Ships, divided into three Squadrons, under the Command of Prince Rupert, Count d'Estrees, and Sir Edward Spragge. The Dutch were scarce 70 Men of War and Frigates, under de Ruyter, Tromp and Bankert x.

Most of our own, and the Dutch Historians agree, that the English,

w An exact Relation of all the Engagements, and Actions of his Majesty's Fleet, under the Command of his Highness Prince Rupert, and of all Circumstances concerning this Summer's Expedition, 1673, written by a Person in Command in the Fleet. London, 1673, 4to. Kennet, Burchet, Echard, Burnet, Rapin. * Kennet, Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Basnage, de Neuville, Vie de Ruyter, P. Daniel.

English, to prevent the French from running away, as they did before, intermixed their Ships now with their own: but in the Account published under the Direction of Prince Rupert, the Thing is put in quite another Light; for there it is faid, that the French made little or no Sail, but kept in the Rear, though they saw the Dutch Fleet stretch to the North. By twelve in the Morning, the detached Squadron before-mentioned, engaged Van Tromp, and soon after the Prince engaged de Ruyter almost two Hours before the French began to fight at all. Then, says the same Relation, Count d'Estrees engaged de Ruyter, but quickly left him: neither did de Ruyter tollow, but went to the Assistance of Tromp, whom he very seasonably relieved, which put an End to the Feuds long subsisting between them. The Battle was very hard fought on both Sides, infomuch, that Tromp shifted his Flag four Times, from The Golden-Lion to The Prince on Harfeback, from The Prince on Harfeback to The Amsterdam, and from The Amsterdam to The Comet; from on board which he dated his Letter to the States in the Evening. Sir Edward Spragge and the Earl of Offery distinguished themfelves on our Side by their extraordinary Courage and Conduct. Prince Rupert also performed Wonders, considering that his Ship was in a very bad Condition, and took in so much Water at her Ports, that the could not fire her lower Tire. The Battle lasted till Night, and then the Dutch are said to have retired behind their Sands 2.

BOTH Sides, however claimed the Victory, de Ruyter in his Letter to the Prince of Orange says, We judge absolutely, that the Victory is on the Side of this State, and of your Highness. Tromp carried the Matter farther, and reported the English to have lost ten or twelve Ships. Prince Rupert in his Letter to the Earl of Arlington, fays, I thought it best to cease the Pursuit, and anchor where I now am. As to the Loss on both Sides in this Battle, it is reported the Dutch loft Vice-Admiral Schram, Rear-Admiral Vlugh, and fix of their Captains, had one Ship disabled, which was lost in her Retreat. On our Side fell the Captains Fowls, Finch, Tempest, and Worden: Colonel Hamilton had his Legs shot off, and we had only two Ships disabled, none either funk or taken. The great Doubt is as to the Conduct of the French. Our Writers are positive, that they behaved as ill as they did before; but the Dutch Authors say, they fought very bravely. The Truth seems to be, that the briskest

y An exact Relation of the Actions of the Fleet under Prince Rupert p. 8, 9. Philips's Chronicle, p. 592. Philips, Kennet, Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Lediard.

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of the French Officers made it their Choice to fight among the English, where they behaved very gallantly, while those remaining with Count d'Estrees, took a great deal of Care to keep themselves safe: and yet they suffered more than either the English or Dutch; for they lost two Men of War, and five or six Fire-Ships, which they knew not how to manage. The French Writers are pretty even with us; for they report, that Matters were but indifferently managed on both Sides, and that Prince Rupert did not push Things as far as he might, because he was averse to the War. In one Respect the Dutch certainly had the Advantage, since they prevented the Descent intended upon their Country, for which Service Count Schomberg, with

6000 Men lay ready at Yarmouth 2.

THE Dutch, as they were upon their own Coast, had the Advantage of receiving quick and great Supplies: whereas the Wind prevented the English from obtaining the like Advantages. Prince Rupert, however, did all that in his Power lay, to put the Fleet into a good Condition, and believing that the Dutch would not be long before they endeavoured to make Use of their Advantages, he went on board The Royal Sovereign in the Evening of the 3d of June, where he went not to Bed all Night b. His Forefight was very requifite; for on the 4th in the Morning, the Dutch Fleet, who by this Time were at least as strong as the Confederates, bore down upon them as fast as the Wind would permit. Sir Edward Spragge had so little Notion of their fighting, that taking the brave Earl of Offory, his Rear-Admiral with him, he went in his Boat on board the Admiral; which loft a great deal of Time. As for Prince Rupert, he was so much in Earnest, that finding his Ship's Crew, which was but indifferent, raised his Anchors very slowly, he ordered his Cables to be cut, that he might make hafte to meet the Dutch. Count d'Estrees with the White Squadron betrayed no great willingness to fight, as our own and the Dutch Writers agree; but kept as much as might be out of Harm's Way. At last, about five in the Evening, Spragge and Tromp engaged with great Fury. As for de Ruyter, he shewed at first a Design of coming to a close Engagement with the Prince: but before he came within Musket-Shot, he tacked and bore away; whence it was concluded, that he had fuffered fome confiderable Damage. Spragge in the mean Time had forced

Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. ii. p. 415. Le Clerc, tom. iii. p. 441. De Neuville, Kennet. Columna Rostrata, Rapin. An exact Relation of the Actions of the Fleet, &c. p. 9, 10.

forced Tromp to sheer off. He then sell into Vice-Admiral Sweers's Division, which he soon put into Consusion; and had a third Engagement with Tromp, wherein he shot down his Flag. The Bittle lasted till between ten and eleven at Night, and then the Dutch stood to the South-East, and so the Engagement ended.

BOTH Sides claimed the Victory as before. Prince Rupert in his Letter to the Earl of Arlington, fays expresly. That he pursued the Dutch from two till fix the next Morning, and feeing no likelihood of reaching them before they got within their Sands, thought a farther Pursuit needless. He likewise adds, that they went away in great Diforder, though he could not tell certainly what Loss they had received. This is not altogether irreconcileable to de Ruyter's Letter, wherein he also claims the Victory. The next ay (fays he) we faw the Enemies were gone, and doubt not but they made to the Thames; we satisfied ourselves with pursuing them half Way, and then returned to our former Station d. In the same Letter, however, he owns, that they began their Retreat as foon as it was dark. The Loss on both Sides was pretty equal, but was far from being confiderable on either. Admiral Van Tromp, however, was so ill satisfied with the Conduct of Vice-Admiral Sweers, that he accused him to the States. Some of the Dutch and French Writers pretend, that Prince Rupert did not distinguish himself on that Occasion as he used to do; for which they suggest Reasons void of all Foundation s. The The Truth is, the Prince was for fighting the Enemy again; but it was carried in a Council of War to fail for the English Coast, in order to obtain Supplies, as well of Ammunition as Provision; for Want of which a great many Captains complained loudly. Besides, the Fleet was so poorly manned, that if it had not been for the Land-Forces on board, they could not have fought at all: and these being for the most Part newraised Men, we need not wonder they did not behave so well as our old Sailors were wont to do. On the 8th of June, the Fleet arrived at the Buoy in the Nore, and on the 14th Prince Rupert went to London, in order to give the King an Account of the Condition Things were in, and to press for such neceffary Supplies as might enable him to put to Sea again without Delay 8.

THE

Ruyer, p. 593. De Neuville, Kennet, Echard, Rapin.

d Kennet's Compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 323.

Ele Clerc, Vie de Tromp.

Basnage, Histoire de France par P. Daniel.

An exact Relation, &c. p. 10, 11.

THE Dutch in the mean Time, to countenance the Pretences they made after the two last Battles to Victory, and (which was of much greater Consequence) to raise the Spirits of the People, at such a Conjuncture when the very being of the Republic was at Stake, gave out, that their Fleet should attempt some great Thing. Insulting the English Coast was fometimes talked of, and then again, the Losses they had lately fuffained from the French induced them to think of Revenge on that Side, and taking some Maritime Town in France, which might oblige King Louis to abandon the Siege of Maestricht, or incline him to give it up by Way of Exchange. But while they were amusing themselves and de Ruyter with these Propofals, they were informed that Maestricht was already taken, and that the combined Fleet was ready to put to Sea; so that all these grand Schemes vanished at once, and they were forced to attend to their old Business of defending their own Coasts, and

protecting their Commerce h.

ABOUT the middle of the Month of July, Prince Rupert was again at Sea, having on board the Troops intended for a Descent, which was still pressed by the Authors of the War'. His Highness arrived on the Dutch Coasts on the 21st of the last-mentioned Month, and declining an Engagement stood along the Shore, in order to find an Opportunity for debarking his Troops. On the 9th of August he took a Dutch East-India Ship richly laden. This induced de Ruyter to fight; and, therefore, he immediately bore down upon the English Fleet. As foon as his Highness perceived it, he commanded the French a particular Course, and had thereby an Opportunity of discerning what he was to expect from them in a Time of Action. They lay by twice that Night; first about cleven o'Clock, when the Prince fent to Count d'Estrees to order him to make Sail, which he did till about one o'Clock, and then laid his Sail to the Mast again, which gave a second Stop to the Fleet, and obliged the Prince to fend him another Message. Delays gave the Dutch Admiral an Opportunity of gaining the Wind, which he did not neglect; but early on the 11th of August, bore down upon the Confederates, as if he meant to force them to a Battle, upon which his Highness thought fit to tack and thereby brought the Fleet into good Order. He put the French in the Van, himself in the middle, and Sir Edward Spragge in the Rear; and in this Disposition the French lay fair to get

h Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. ii. p. 418. Le Clerc, De Neuville, du Mont, Vie de Ruyter.

i Philips's Chronicle, p. 592. Kennet, Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Rapin.

the Wind of the Enemy, which, however, they neglected k. The English Fleet confitted of about fixty Men of War and Frigates, the French of thirty, and the Dutch of seventy or thereabouts; so that the Royal Fleets were indisputably superior to that of the

Republic 1.

prepared to attack the Prince himself, while Tromp engaged Spragge and the Blue Squadron, in which the English Admiral obliged him, by laying his Fore-Top-Sail to his Mast, in order to stay for him, contrary to the express Order of the Prince. This Fondness for a Point of Honour proved stall to himself, as well as disadvantageous to the Fleet. Bankert with his Zealand Squadron should have engaged the White commanded by d'Estrees; but, it seems, the Dutch understood their Temper better than to give themselves much Trouble about them, for Bankert contented himself with sending eight Men of War and three Fire-Ships to attack the Rear-Admiral de Martel, who seemed to be the only Man that had any real Design to sight; and then the rest of the Zealand Squadron united themselves to de Ruyter, and sell together upon Prince Rupert m.

REAR-Admiral de Martel, being left not only by the Body of the French Fleet, but even by the Captains of his own Division, was attacked by five Dutch Ships at once. He fought them for two Hours, and with such Courage and Success, that having disabled one, the rest were glad to sheer off, and he rejoined the White Squadron; where expostulating with the Captains of his own Division for deserting him so basely, they told him plainly, they had Orders from the Admiral not to observe his Motions: and indeed, after he was in the Fleet, though some Opportunities offered, he thought of fighting no more, and on his Return to France, was sent to the Bastile for what he had

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THE Battle between de Ruyter and the Red Squadron began about eight o'Clock in the Morning, and a Multitude of Circumstances concurred to threaten the English Admiral with inevitable Ruin. The French, not satisfied with being meer Spectators of a very unequal Combat from the Beginning, suffered the

k An exact Relation of the Actions of the English Fleet under the Command of Prince Rupert, p. 13. Philips, Kennet, Burchet, Columna Rostrata. Basinage, Le Clerc, Leven Van Tromp. An exact Relation, &c. p. 14. Basinage, Vie de Ruyter. The Relation before mentioned, p. 15. Philips, Kennet, Burchet, Columna Rostrata, &c. We shall examine this Matter more sully when we come to speak of the Consequences of this Battle.

the Ships which had attacked de Martel to pass quietly to their own Fleet; so that now de Ruyter's and Bankert's Squadrons were both upon the Red. Sir Edward Spragge, intent on his personal Quarrel with Van Tromp, had fallen to the Leeward several Leagues with the Blue Squadron, and to complete Prince Rupert's Missortune, the Enemy sound Means to intercept his own Rear-Admiral Sir John Chichele with his Division; so that by Noon his Highness was wholly surrounded by the Dutch, being pressed by de Ruyter and his Division on his Lee-Quarter, an Admiral with two Flags more on his Weather-Quarter, and the Zealand Squadron on his Broad-side to Windward. Thus the Dutch wisely employed their Force against the Enemy that would fight, and took no more Notice of the French Fleet, than the French did of them, or of Prince Rupert.

His Highness in the midst of these Disappointments, behaved with such Intrepidity, encouraged all his Officers so effectually, by his own Example, that by Degrees he cleared himself of his Enemies, rejoined Sir John Chichele, and by two o'Clock, had Time to think of the Blue Squadron, which was now three Leagues Distance; and not hearing their Guns well plyed, he made all the Sail he could towards them, in order to unite and relieve them. De Ruyer perceiving his Highness's Design, left firing and bore away also with his whole Fleet to the Relief of Tromp; so that both Fleets ran down Side by Side, within Range of Cannon-Shot, and yet without firing on either Part. About four, the Prince joined the Blue Squadron, which he

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found in a very tattered Condition P.

At the beginning of the Fight, Tromp, in The Golden Lyon, and Sir Edward Spragge, in The Royal Prince, fought Ship to Ship. The Dutch Admiral, however, would not come to a close Fight, which gave him a great Advantage; for Spragge, who had more than his Compliment on board, suffered much by the Enemies Cannon; and having the Wind and Smoke in his Face, could not make so good use of his own, as he would otherwise have done. After three Hours warm Fight, The Royal

The exact Relation, &c. In this Piece we have not only the most authentic, but I believe the only authentic Account of this Engagement now extant. Prince Rupert's Letters were usually published, but what he wrote on this Occasion was not judged convenient for the People's Perusal. The Dutch Narrations were calculated to serve a Turn, and that penned by M. de Martel, for the Information of the French King, was suppressed.

Philips, Kennet, Burchet, Columna Rostrata, History of the Dutch War.

Royal Prince was fo disabled, that Sir Edward was forced to go on board The St. George, and Tromp quitted his Golden Lyon, to hoift his Flag on board The Comet, where the Battle was renewed with incredible Fury. The great Aim of the Dutch Admiral, was to take or fink The Royal Prince; but the Earl of Offery and Sir John Kempthorne, together with Spragge himself, so effectually protected the disabled Vessel, that none of the Enemy's Fire-Ships could come near her, though this was often attempted. At last, The St. George, being terribly torn, and in a manner disabled, Sir Edward Spragge defigned to go on board a third Ship; but before he was got fix Boats Length, a Shot, which passed through The St. George, broke his Boat; and though they immediately rowed back, yet before they could get within Reach of the Ropes that were thrown out from The St. George, the Boat funk, and Sir Edward was drowned 9.

WHEN Prince Rupert drew near the Blue Squadron, he found the Admiral disabled, the Vice-Admiral lying to the Windward, mending his Sails and Rigging; the Rear-Admiral a-stern of The Royal Prince, between her and the Enemy, bending his new Sails, and mending his Rigging. The first Thing his Highness did was to fend two Frigates to take The Royal Prince in Tow. He then fleered in between the Enemy and the lame Ships, and perceiving that Tromp had tacked, and was coming down again upon the Blue Squadron, he made a Signal for all the Ships of that Squadron to join him: but it was in vain; for except the two Flags, Sir John Kempthorne, and the Earl of Offory, there was not one in a Condition to move. Still the French looked on with all the Coolness imaginable, and notwithstanding the Prince put out the Blue Flag upon the Mizen-Peek, which was the Signal to attack, fet down in the General Instructions for fighting, and known, not only to all the English Captains, but also those of the White Squadron, remained inactive. Yet to colour his Conduct, the Count d'Estrees, after the Battle was in a Manner over, fent to know what this Signal meant '.

ABOUT

⁹ Basnage, Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. ii. p. 420. Le Clerc, Tom. iii. p. 343. de Neuville, Tom. iv. p. 204. An exact Relation, &c. p. 18, 19. where it is affirmed, that Count d'Estrees sent this Message after Night had parted the Fleets. The Officer, who wrote that Account, says very judiciously, that the sending to enquire the Maning of the Signal, was cunningly done: but one of de Ruyter's Sailors seems to have had as much Penetration as the French Ministry had Artisice; for upon one of his Companions asking him what the

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ABOUT five in the Evening, de Ruyter, with all his Flags and Fleet, came close up with the Prince, and so there began a very sharp Engagement; his Highness had none to second him, but the Vice and Rear of the Blue; Sir John Harman, Captain Davis, and Captain Stout, of his own Division; Sir John Holmes in The Rupert, Captain Legge in The Royal Katherine, Sir John Berry in The Resolution, Sir John Ernle in The Henry, Sir Roger Strickland in The Mary, and Captain Carter in The Grown; in all about thirteen Ships. The Engagement was very close and bloody, 'till about seven o'Clock, when his Highness forced the Dutch Fleet into great Disorder, and sent in two Fire-Ships amongst them, to encrease it; at the same Time, making a Signal for the French to bear down, which if they had done, a total Rout must have followed. But, as they took no Notice of it, and the Prince faw that most of his Ships were in no Condition to keep the Sea long, he wisely provided for their Safety, by making eafy Sail towards our own Coasts'. This Battle ended as doubtful as the rest; for the Dutch claimed the Victory now, as they did before, and with as much Reason. The Truth is, it seems to have been a drawn Battle; fince the Dutch, notwithstanding all their Advantages, did not take or fink one English Man of War, and killed but two Captains, Sir William Reeves and Captain Havard, besides the great Sir Edward Spragge, and no great Number of private Men. On their Side they lost two Vice-Admirals, Sweers and Liefde; three Captains, and about one thousand private The Benefit indeed they drew from this Battle was very great; for they opened their Ports, which before the Battle, were entirely blocked up, and put an End to all Thoughts of an Invasion t.

It would be unjust to conclude this Account of the last Battle fought in the last Dutch War, without taking particular Notice of the Grounds upon which I have represented the Conduct of the French in so bad a Light. I must in the first Place, declare, that I have no Intent to asperse the Nation in general, much less to injure the particular Character of the Noble Person who commanded, and who afterwards gave signal Proofs of his Courage

French meant by keeping at such a Distance, Why, you Fool, said he, they have hired the English to fight for them, and all their Business here is, to see that they earn their Wages. So transparent to honest Men are the boasted Politicks of this Court!

Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 593. Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin.

Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. ii. p. 420. Le Clerc, Tom. iii. p. 345. Quincy, Tom. i. p. 359.

Courage and Conduct as a Sea-Officer, as in this Engagement, he gave the highest Demonstration of his Steadiness in obeying Orders. Those I blame, are such as drew up his Instructions, and confequently were answerable for his Behaviour. The French were, and are, a brave Nation; but it has been their great Misfortune to fuffer by perfidious Ministers, who have broke their National Faith, both in War and Peace, so often, that it is in a Manner become Proverbial, like the Fides Punica of old. For the Truth of what I have advanced in the present Case, I have the Testimony of Friends and Enemies, nay of themselves too, which I think is sufficient to put the Matter out of Doubt. Their Behaviour was complained of by Prince Rupert, in such strong Terms, that his Letter was suppressed; though at other Times his Accounts, which were constantly very plain and very modest, were instantly published . All the Dutch Writers agree in giving the same Account w; and, indeed, if they did not, the Conduct of their Admirals might fufficiently justify their Sense of the Thing, fince it is impossible to conceive, that Admiral Bankert would have fent eight small Ships to charge a Squadron of thirty large ones, if from their former Conduct, and their Countenance then, he had not been well affured that Fighting was not much their Business. Lastly, poor Admiral Martel, who was too much a Man of Honour to be in the French Ministers Secrets, wrote a fair Relation of the Battle, and fent it to the French Court, concluding with these Words, " That if Count d'Estrees would have fallen in " with a fair Wind upon de Ruyter and Bankert, at their first " engaging, when in Numbers they much exceeded the Prince; "they must of Necessity have been enclosed between his High-" ness and d' Estrees, and so the Enemy would have been entire-" ly defeated "."

Soon after this Battle, the English returned into the Thames, and the French Squadron, about the Middle of September, sailed home; but suffered so much by a Storm, that it was the Middle of November before they reached Brest. When Prince Rupert returned to Court, he joined his Representations to those of other worthy Patriots, who were desirous that Peace should be restored, to which the King was now no longer averse. There had, through

Vol. II.

[&]quot;Columna Rostrata, p. 243. Secret History of Europe, History of the Dutch War.

"Basnage, Le Clerc, Vie de Ruyter, &c.

Exact Relation, &c. p. 17. P. Daniel slurs over all these Battles in his Histoire de la Milice Francoise, Tom. ii. p. 489, and again in his Histoire de France, Tom. x, p cxi. he crowds all three Battles into a Paragraph of so many Lines, and says, they were fought with little Order or small Regard to Reputation by all Parties.

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through the Mediation of Sweden, been some Conferences held at Cologne; but they had not proved so effectual as was expected. The States General also had written to his Majesty, but in Terms that, instead of making Things better, had rather widened the Breach. After this Battel, however, they condescended to write another Letter, wherein they shewed their earnest Desire of Peace, and their true Sense of the Obstacles which had hitherto retarded it. In this Letter they spoke very freely to the King of his Ministers, and of his Ally; they shewed him how glorious, as well as advantageous a Step, a separate Peace must prove, which would give Umbrage only to the French, and content all Europe besides : and further to incline his Majesty to this, they suggested the base Behaviour of his Allies in the late Sea-fights, and the Offer made them by France, of a separate Peace, without any Respect had to his Majesty. These, with the propounding of fair Conditions, had such Weight with the King, that he proposed the Terms offered, to his Parliament, and on their paffing a Vote, " humbly defiring him to proceed " in a Treaty with the States, in order to a speedy Peace," he directed Sir William Temple to negotiate it with the Marquis del Fresno, the Spanish Embassador, who was provided with Powers from the States General for that Purpole; and at three Meetings the Treaty was concluded and figned, to the mutual Satisfaction of both Parties 7.

WHILE this Treaty was negociating at home, there happened an Accident in the Mediterranean, which, though of little Consequence in itself, yet from certain Circumstances that attended it, deserves to be recorded. The Dutch Admial Evertz being in those seas with his Squadron, it happened that Captain de Wit, in a Man of War called The Schaerlaes, which carried thirty-fix Pieces of Cannon, and one hundred and forty Men, met with Captain Harman, in the The Tyger, a small English Frigate which had been careening at Tangier, and came with him into the Harbour of Cadiz, where the Dutchman also careened. The Spaniards jesting with Captain de Wit, and telling him that he durst not fight the English Captain, and that this made them so good Friends; Admiral Evertz heard it, and thereupon told de Wit, that he must, for the Honour of his Nation, challenge Captain Harman. He did so, and his Admiral lent him, that he might come off with Glory, fixty Mariners, and feventy foldiers. Captain Harman had but one hundred eighty-four Men in all; however, at a Day's Notice, he stood out to sea, and fairly

y Basnage, le Clerc, Vie de Ruyter, Temple's Memoirs, Kennet, Echard, Rapin.

fairly engaged the Dutch Frigate in fight of the Town. Their thips were within Pistol-shot before either of them fired; and then Captain Harman's Broad-fide brought the Dutchman's Mainmast by the Board, and killed and wounded him fourscore Men. The English Captain followed his Advantage, entered the Enemy with his resolute Crew, and became Master of the Ship in an Hour's Time; but she was quite disabled, and had one hundred and forty Men in her killed and wounded. The English had only nine killed and fifteen wounded, amongst whom was their brave Captain by a Musket-shot, which went in at his left Eye, and out between the Ear and the Jaw-bone, of which Wound he was well cured, and lived feveral Years after 2. Thus the Maritime Powers, though their Interest was, and must ever be, the fame, did their utmost, from false Notions of Honour, to destroy each other, and answer the End of their common Enemy, till the Voice of the People both in England and Holland, rouzed their Governors to a just Sense of their common Danger, and procured thereby an Alliance which has lasted ever

This Treaty of Peace was figned at London, February the 9th, 1674, and thereby those Differences were all adjusted, which had fo often, and fo long, diffurbed both States. In the first Place, the Business of the Flag was regulated according to the King's Sense of his Rights, which the States till now would never admit. In their Treaty with Cromwell, they did indeed stipulate, that their Ships should falute the English; but then this was expressed in such Terms, as afforded the Dutch room to fuggest, that the doing it was no more than a Point of Civility. As the Treaties of 1662, 1667, and 1668, were all in a manner built on this Foundation, the Case had been hitherto the fame, and afferted so to be by the States: but now the Thing was put out of Dispute, and what was before stiled Courtefy, was here confessed to be a Right, the Extent of the British Seas was particularly mentioned, and the States undertook, that not only separate Ships, but whole Fleets, should strike their Sails to any Fleet or fingle Ship carrying the King's Flag, as the Custom was in the Days of his Ancestors b. The East-India

Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 595. Life of Sir William Temple, p. 200. Kennet's Compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 326. See also the Proposals from the States General to the King of Great Britain, printed by Authority, 1673-4. The whole of this Matter is very judiciously explained by Bishop Parker, in his History of his own Times, p. 158. and the entire Article is to be found in the Proposals made by the States themselves; which show great a Point was carried in concluding this Treaty.

India Trade was likewise settled, so as to prevent subsequent Disputes, and leave neither Party at Liberty to encroach on the other. As to leffer Matters, Commissioners were to meet on both fides at London, to decide them; and in case they did not agree in the space of three Months, then the Queen of Spain was to arbitrate. Such of the Planters as had been restrained by the Dutch at Surinam, were to be left at their full Liberty to retire, if they thought fit, with their Effects. Places taken on both fides were by this Treaty to be restored, and the States General were to pay his Majesty 800,000 Patacoons at four Payments, the first immediately after the Ratification of this Treaty, and the other three by annual Payments. By a particular Treaty, it was agreed, that the English Regiments in the French service should be suffered to wear out for Want of Recruits; and by a secret Article it was settled, that neither Side should assist the Enemies of the other by Land or sea. We may guess how acceptable this Treaty was to the States, by the Present made to the Spanish Ambassador for negotiating it, which was 16,000 Crowns, and the Gratification of 6000 which were given to Don Bernardo de Salinas d. Thus ended the last of our Dutch Wars, which, though made against the Interest and Will of the People, terminated to their Advantage; whereas the former War, though it was begun at the Instance of the Nation, ended but indifferently: fo little Correspondence is there between the Grounds and Islues of Thing.

THE Corfairs of Tripoli having for some Time committed great Outrages on the English Trade, Sir John Narborough was sent, in the latter End of the Year 1675, to bring them to Reason. The 14th of January sollowing, Sir John came before the Place, and having blocked up the Port in the Night, so that no Ship could go in or come out, he manned all his Boats, and sent them under the Command of Lieutenant Shovel (afterwards Sir Cloudessy, the samous Admiral) into the Harbour, where he seized the Guard-ship, and afterwards burnt the sollowing

I take what I have here given the Reader from a very accurate and authentic Writer, who has left us the best political Memoirs of Europe that are extant; I mean the Sieur du Mont, in his Memoires pour Servir a la Histoire de la Paix de Ryswick, Tom. ii. p. 272, &c. Basnage, Le Clerc, De Neuville. It is proper to observe, that though the Treaty was negotiated by Sir William Temple, it was not signed by him, but by the following Committee of Council, viz. the Lord Keeper Finch, the Lord-Treasurer Latimer (afterwards Earl of Danby, and Duke of Leeds), the Duke of Monmouth, the Duke of Ormonde, the Earl of Arlington, and Secretary Coventry.

lowing Veffels, which were all that lay at that Time in the Harbour, viz. The White Eagle Crowned, a fifty Gun Ship, The Looking-Glass, which carried fix and thirty, The Santa Clara, of twenty-four, and a French Veffel of twenty: after which he fafely returned to the Fleet, without the Loss of so much as one Man. This extraordinary Action struck the Tripolines with Amazement, and made them instantly sue for Peace; which, however, did not immediately take Place, because they absolutely refused to make good the Losses sustained by the English. Sir John thereupon cannonaded the Town; and finding that ineffectual, landed a Body of Men about twenty Leagues from thence, and burnt there a vast Magazine of Timber, which was to have served for the building of Ships. When all this failed of reducing these People, Sir John failed to Malta, and after remaining there for some Time, returned suddenly upon the Enemy, and diffressed them so much, that they were glad to conclude a Peace on the Terms prescribed. Soon after the Conclusion of this Peace, some of their Corsairs returning into Port, not only expressed a great Dislike thereto, but actually expelled the Dey for making it, and began to take English Ships as before. Sir John being still in the Mediterranean, and having Notice of what paffed, fuddenly appeared with eight Frigates before Tripoli, and began with fuch Violence to batter the Place, that the Inhabitants were glad once more to renew the Peace, and to deliver up the Authors of the late Disturbance to condign Punishment f.

In 1679, we had some Differences with the Algerines on Account of their making Prize of English Ships, under Pretence, that they were not furnished with proper Passes. Upon this, Sir John Narborough was sent with a Squadron to demand Satisfaction; which he both did, and procured by Dint of Force. The Peace, however, did not last long, for in a Year or two they committed the like Outrages: upon which Commodore Herbert, afterwards so well known to the World by the Title of Earl of Torrington, went thither with a sew Ships, and compelled them to make Satisfaction for what was passed, and to give the strongest Assurances of their acting in another manner for the suture. This Expedition, which was performed in 1682, proved the last in this Reign 8.

THERE is yet one Transaction more, which calls for our Notice, and that is the Demolition of the strong Fortress of Tan-

^e Kennet's Compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 336. Burchet, Columna Rostrata. ^f Columna Rostrata, p. 252. ^g Kennet, Burchet, Columna Rostrata.

gier. We have already shewed how that Place came into the Hands of the English, and what Pains were taken to preferve it. In the Space of twenty Years it cost the Nation an immense Sum of Money; and yet many doubted, all Things confidered, whether it was of any Use to us, or not. When we first had it, the Harbour was very dangerous; to remedy which, there was a fine Mole run out at a vast Expence. Several Societies or Copartnerships, which undertook to perfect this Work, raised great Sums for that Purpose, and miscarried in it. At last, however, all Difficulties were in a manner overcome, and this Work carried to such a Height, that it might be said to vie with those of the Romans. But the House of Commons in 1680 having expressed a Dislike to the Management of the Garrison kept there, which they suspected to be no better than a Nursery for a Popish Army; and discovering withal no Defire of providing for it any longer, the King began to entertain Thoughts of quitting it, and bringing home his Forces from thence. He endeavoured to keep this as fecret as possible; however, the Lord Arlington is said to have given some Hint of his Majesty's Intention to the Portuguese Embassador, who expressed great Discontent thereat, and was very desirous that it should be put again into the Hands of his Master. But King Charles, doubting whether the Crown of Portugal would be able to maintain its Possession against the Moors, and foreseeing the terrible Consequences of such a Port falling into their Hands, notwithstanding the Offer of large Sums, perfisted steadily in his first Resolution. In 1683, the then Lord Dartmouth was constituted Captain-General of his Majesty's Forces in Africa, and Governor of Tangier, and fent as Admiral of an English Fleet to demolish the Works, blow up the Mole, and bring home the Garrison from thence; all which he very effectually performed, so that the Harbour is still entirely spoiled, and though now in the Hands of the Moors, it is a very inconsiderable Place. One Circumstance attending its Demolition deserves to be remarked, because it shews the Temper and Spirit of the King. He directed a confiderable number of new-coined Crown-Pieces to be buried in the Ruins, that if (through the Viciffitudes of Fortune, to which all fublunary Things are liable) this City should ever be restored, there might remain some Memorial of its having had once the Honour of depending on the Crown of Britain. Thus, through Disputes between the King and Parliament, the British Nation loft a Place and Port of great Importance h.

h Kennet's Compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 376, 408. Burchet, Burnet, Echard, Rapin.

As it is on all Hands confessed, that never any English perhaps I might fay, any Prince, without Distinction of Countries, understood Maritime Affairs so well as Charles II, did; fo it cannot furprise any intelligent Reader when we affert, that the English Navy received very great Advantages from his Skill and Care in Matters of this Nature. It must indeed be allowed, that he found the Fleet at his Restauration in an excellent Situation, and abundance of very able Men employed therein; and it must likewise be confessed, to the Honour of his Government, that he preferved them in their feveral Posts without any Respect to Party; which, without Question, contributed not a little to the Increase of our Naval Power'. How intent he was for the first ten Years of his Reign in promoting whatever had a Tendency this Way, appears from all the candid Histories of those Times, from the Collections of Orders, and other Public Papers relating to the Direction of the Navy while the Duke of York was Admiral, published of late Years, and in every Body's Hands k; and in a short and narrow Compass from the Speech made by the Lord-Keeper Bridgman, who affirmed, that from 1660 to 1670, the Charge of the Navy had never amounted to less than 500,000 l. a Year 1. But after the second Dutch War the King grew more saving in this Article; and yet in 1678, when the Nation generally expected a War with France, his Navy was in excellent Order. The judicious Mr. Pepys, Secretary to the Admiralty, has left

¹ Such as Sir George Ayscue, Sir William Batten, Sir John Law. fon, Sir Richard Stayner, Sir William Penn, and many others. The Title of this Book is, Memoirs of the English Affairs, chiefly Naval, from the Year 1660 to 1673, by his Royal Highness James Duke of York, London, 1729, 8vo. 1 Happy future State of England, by Sir Peter Pett, p. 185. The Defign of this Speech was to induce the House of Commons to grant a Supply for this particular Service of increasing the Royal Navy, and after having shewn the great Importance of such a Proceeding, his Lordship goes on thus: " My Lords and Gentlemen, His Majesty is consident that you will " not be contented to see him deprived of all the Advantages which " he might procure hereby to his Kingdoms, nay, even to all Christen-" dom, in the Repose and Quiet of it. That you will not be content " alone to fee your Neighbours strengthening themselves in Shipping, " fo much more than they were before, and at Home to fee the Go-" vernment flruggling every Year with Difficulties, and not able to " keep up our Navies equal with theirs. He finds that by his Ac-" counts from the Year 1660 to the late War, the ordinary Charge " of the Fleet, communibus annis, came to about 500,000 l. a Year, " and it cannot be supported with less."

us a particular Account of its State in the Month of August that Year; which as it is very short, I think it may not be amiss to insert m.

ABSTRACT of the FLEET.

No.	Men.
5	3135
4	1555
16	5010
33	6460
12	1400
7	423
6	340
83	18323
	5 4 16 33 12 7 6

Or these seventy six were in Sea-Pay, the Storehouses and Magazines in compleat Order; and, which is still more to the Purpose, thirty Capital Ships were then actually in building (eleven newly launched, and nineteen upon the Stocks): and that the Reader may frame a just Notion of the Increase of the Navy during this Part of the King's Reign, I must observe, that at Midsummer 1660, the whole Fleet consisted but of fixty-five Vessels of all Sizes, as appears by an original Letter under the Hand of Mr. Secretary Coventry ". But after this Period of Time, I mean the Date of the Lift, the King, finding himself extremely uneafy at home, and confequently in a Situation perplexed enough abroad, was persuaded to alter the Management of his Navy; which he did in 1679, in order to make himself easy in his Civil Government, Sir Anthony Deane, Mr. Pepys, and several other old Officers of the Navy having been fo unfortunate to incur the Displeasure of the House of Commons, by whom they were committed o.

This new Administration, with Respect to Naval Affairs, subsisted about five Years, and if it had continued five Years longer, would in all Probability have remedied the Evils it had introduced, by wearing out the whole Royal Navy, and so leaving no room for suture Mistakes; and a just Sense of this, induced

m Memoirs relating to the State of the Royal Navy for ten Years, by Samuel Pepys, Efq; p. 6. n Memoirs of English Affairs, chiefly Naval, p. 12. o The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons, printed for Richard Chandler, vol. i. p. 260.

duced the King in 1684, to resume the Management of the Fleet into his own Hands, to restore the old Officers, and to undertake the bringing Things once more into Order: but before any considerable Progress could be made in so great a Work, his Majesty died, and left the Care of it to his Successor?

THE Trade of the Nation I have heretofore shewed to have been in a very declining Situation at the Time of the Restauration; and I have also observed, that it was much helped by feveral Treaties of Peace made foon after 9; and though I am far from denying, that through the King's too strict Intercourse with France, his running Counter, in many Respects, to the Interests as well as Inclinations of his best Subjects, and that diffolute Spirit of Luxury and Corruption, which, if not introduced, was at least countenanced and encouraged by the King's Temper and Practice, might hinder our Trade from reaching that Height which otherwise it would have done. Yet, upon the whole, I am fully perfuaded, that during his whole Reign we were very great Gainers thereby; and this I think I can clearly make appear. In the first Place, the second Dutch War was plainly undertaken for the take of Trade; nor can it be conceived, that the Dutch would have pushed us in the manner they did, from any other Motive than an Apprehension that from Rivals, we should become their Superiors in Commerce, which from the Genius of their State, they could not patiently permit. In the next Place, let us confider the mighty Losses sustained in the Space of fifteen Years by the Plague, the Fire of London, and the two Dutch Wars. They have been computed, by Men much better skilled in Political Arithmetic than I pretend to be, at little less than twenty-seven Millions . But supposing them to have amounted only to twenty Millions, the Nation must have been reduced to the lowest Ebb of Poverty and Distress, if the had not been relieved by the vast Profits of her foreign Trade. This it was that repaired the Lofs of our People in a furprizing Manner, raised the City of London like a Phoenix, brighter and more beautiful for having been in Flames, and increased

P Memoirs of the Royal Navy, by Mr. Pepys, p. 10.

9 See p. 150, and 154.

1 By Sir William Petty, in his Political Arithmetic, who, without doubt, understood the Grounds of that Art, as well as ever any Man did. Dr. D'avenant also was of the same Mind, and says expressly, that these Losses might be computed at between 24 and 27 Millions. Discourses on the Public Revenue and Trade of Rngland, vol. ii, p. 44.

increased our Shipping to double what it was at the Time of the King's coming in. These are Facts agreed on by the greatest Men that ever handled Subjects of this Nature, grounded on such Evidence as could not deceive them, and justified by Effects which even Posterity may contemplate, and thence discern the

Wisdom and Truth of their Computations .

THE East-India Company were favoured and protected, efpecially in the beginning of this Reign; the African Company was in the Zenith of its Glory, and brought in vast Profits to the Proprietors, and the Nation t. Many of our Plantations were fettled by his Favour, such as Pensylvania, Carolina, &c." Others were reftored to this Nation by his Arms, such as New York, and the Jerseys "; and all had such Encouragement, that they made quite another Figure than in former Times, as we may guess from what a modern Writer (no Way partial to this Prince) fays of Barbadoes; that, during his Reign, it maintained four hundred Sail of Ships, produced two hundred thousand Pounds a Year Advantage to this Nation, and maintained one hundred thousand People there and here x. These are high Calculations; but I believe the person who made them is able to justify them, and therefore I make no Question that Sir William Petty was in the Right when he calculated our Exports at ten Millions per annumy. This agrees very well with the State of our Customs, which fell then little short of a Million, though in 1660, they were farmed for four hundred thoufand pounds, as they were once let by Queen Elizabeth at thirty-fix thousand. Dr. D'avenant, an excellent Judge in these Matters, having duly weighed all the Calculations I have mentioned, and compared them with all the Lights he had received from long Experience, pronounces the Balance of Trade to have been in our Favour, in this Reign, two Millions a Year; and less, I think, could not well be 2. The Bounds prescribed to this Work will not allow me to fay more on this Subject; and I must have violated the Duty I owe to Truth and my Country, if I had faid less.

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^{*} See Pett's Happy future State of England, Sir William Petty's Political Arithmetic, and his Essays, Dr. D'avenant's Book before cited, and his Essay upon the Probable Methods of making People Gainers in the Balance of Trade.

'See a general Treatise of Naval Trade and Commerce, vol. ii. Chap. 5.

"Curson's Compendium of the Laws and Government of England, p. 512.

See the British Empire, in America, under those Titles.

"Ibid. p. 166, 167.

"Political Arithmetic, p. 244.

"Discourses on the Public Revenues and Trade of England, vol. ii. p. 47.

We are now to speak particularly of the most remarkable among those illustrious Persons whose gallant Actions at Sea, have been already occasionally mentioned in this History; Men, who, in Point of Military and Civil Virtues, have deserved as well of their Country as Men could do, and whose Fame therefore ought to be transmitted to Posterity with due Respect. Amongst these, in the first Place, let us take Notice of him to whose Loyalty we owe the Virtues of the rest.

General George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, and Knight of the Garter.

I fecure the Applause of succeeding Times, there would be little Occasion to enter minutely into the Memoirs of this great Soldier and Seaman. And, on the other Hand, if there be any thing laudable in removing those Shades which the Envious are always throwing over the Reputation of the Worthy, then certainly no Man's Life would claim greater Attention, than his of whom I am speaking, the Merit of whose Services scarce raised him more Friends than the Glory of them excited Detractors. He was by Birth a Gentleman, descended on the Father's Side from an ancient and honourable Family, settled from the Time of Henry III. at Potheridge, in Devonshire, and by the Female Line, sprung from the victorious Edward IV. He was the second Son of Sir Thomas Monk, a Man whose Qualities and Virtues deserved a better Fortune; for Time, in doing Honour

The first Notice that I believe the World ever had of this Matter, was from a Pamphlet, printed in 1659, entitled The Pedigree and Descent of his Excellency General Monk, setting forth, how he is descended from King Edward III. by a Branch and Slip of the White Rose, the House of York; and likewise his Extraction from Richard King of the Romans. This was published with a View, I suppose, to countenance a Design some People had entertained of inclining the General to assume the Crown himself, instead of recalling the King. The Fact, however, is true, as to his Descent, as may be seen in Dugdale, and other Authors. But this Descent, could not possibly give him any Title to the Crown, fince the Lady Francis Plantagenet was first married into the Family of Basset, and had Issue of that Marriage; and, which is still more to the Purpose, her Father Arthur, Viscount L'isle, was only Natural Son to Edward IV. We cannot wonder, therefore, that so thinking a Man as General Monk, despised such a pitiful Strain of Flattery, on a Circumstance otherwise honourable to his Family.

Honour to his Family, had almost worn out his Estate. His Son George was born the 6th of December, 1608, and his Father having not much Wealth to give him, intended him from his Childhood for the Sword, and therefore bestowed on him such an Education as was requisite to qualify him for the Profession of Arms, for which he gave a Proof of his Capacity, when he was

scarce able to weild them b.

In the first Year of the Reign of King Charles I. his Majefly, who had then in View a War with Spain, came down to Plymouth, in order to inspect the Naval Preparations that were making there. Sir Thomas Monk had a Mind to pay his Duty to his Prince, though his Debts (derived rather from his Anceltors Extravagance than his own) made him somewhat afraid of the Law. To remedy this Evil, he fent his Son George to the Under-sheriff of Devonshire, with a considerable Present, desiring, that, on so extraordinary an Occasion, he might be safe from any Infult while he attended the King. The Sheriff took the Present, and granted his Request; but soon after, receiving a larger from one of his Creditors, took him in Execution, in the Face of the County. George Monk, whose Youth led him to think this a strange Action, went to Exeter, and after expostulating with the Pettifogger, who was altogether infenfible as to Reproaches, took his Leave of him in a more intelligible Language, and caned him so heartily, that he left him in no Condition of following him. This Adventure fent him on board the Fleet, which under the Command of Lord Wimbleton, shortly after, failed for Cadiz, when he was in the 17th Year of his Age: and thus he began, as he ended, his Service to his Country at Sea c.

In this Voyage he ferved as a Voluntier, under his near Relation, Sir Richard Greenville. The next Year we find him with a Pair of Colours, under the brave Sir John Burroughs, in the unfortunate Expedition to the Isle of Rhee. Such unlucky Beginnings would certainly have daunted a less resolute Mind than that of Mr. Monk, who was distinguished in his Youth by a Steadiness of Temper, which he maintained to his dying Hour, and which was equally incapable of being heated by Passion or

chilled by Fear.

In the 1628, being then compleatly of Age, he went over into Holland, and served in the Regiment of the Earl of Oxford,

b These Particulars are taken from the Life of General Monk, written by Dr. Gumble, his Life by Doctor Skinner, and what is said of him in Prince's Worthies of Devon. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 11.

and afterwards in that of the Lord Goring, who gave him the Command of his own Company, before he was thirty Years of Age. In this Service Mr. Monk was present in several Sieges and Battles, and pursuing steadily the Study of his Profession, became a compleat Master therein. In the last Year of his Stay in Holland, his Winter-Quarters were affigned him in Dort, where the Magistrates punishing some of his Soldiers for Matters proper for the Inspection of a Court-Martial, Captain Monk expostulated the Matter so warmly, that the Point came to be decided by the Prince of Orange, who, though he in a like Case had given Judgment in Favour of Sir Richard Cave, (and thereby misled the Captain) now, to gratify the People, gave it for the Burghers, which so disgusted Monk, who, under a calm Behaviour, concealed a high Spirit, that he foon after threw up his Commission, and never saw the Dutch after, as a Friend d.

On his Return Home, he found his Country in great Confufion, a War newly broke out with the Rebellious Scots, and an Army raising to chastife them, in which he served as Lieutenant-Colonel, under the Earl of Newport, and if his Advice had been taken, Things had not ended as they did . When the War blazed out in Ireland, in 1641, He, through the Favour of his Coufin, the Earl of Leicester, then Lord-Lieutenant, was appointed to command his own Regiment; in which post he did great Service, and might have been Governor of Dublin, but for the Jealousy of the Earl of Ormondes. In 1643, he returned into England to serve his Majesty, to whom he was introduced at Oxford, and honoured with a Conference which lasted some Time, and which satisfied the King how ill he had been used by his Ministers, who, upon some dirty Intelligence from Dublin, prevailed upon his Majesty to take away his Regiment, and give it to Major Warren, a Man of so much Honour,

Gumble, Skinner, Prince, &c.

Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 18. Where he afferts, that Lieutenant Monk was one of the few Officers who seconded the Earl of Strafford in his Defire of fighting the Scots instead of treating with them; which at all Events must have served the King's Purpose: but his Tenderness for his Countrymen ruined him, and by bearing so much from Rebels in one Kingdom, he invited a Rebellion in another.

Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 21. Ludlow tells us in his Memoirs, p. 77. that when Ormonde sent him over, he ordered him to be confined in the Ship, because he had made a Scruple of serving against the Parliament with Forces raised by their Authority. This shews, that General Monk was not such a Soldier of Fortune as Burnet, and some other Writers, would make him, but that he had always a great Respect to Principle.

Honour, that they had much Difficulty in prevailing on him to accept it. To make Colonel Monk some Amends, the King constituted him Major-General of the Irish Brigade, and then sent him to his Command, which he had not enjoyed long, before he with many other Officers were surprized by Sir Tbomas Fairfax, and sent Prisoner to Hull, from whence, by special Direction of the Parliament, he was transferred to the Tower of London, where he remained several Years a Prisoner, in Circumstances narrow enough; though his Brother, who was a Royalist, and consequently the less able, did what he could for him, and his generous Master sent him from Oxford one hundred Pounds in Gold; which was a large Sum out of

fo poor an Exchequer 8.

In 1646-7, when the Fury of the Civil War was over by the total Ruin of the King's Affairs, Colonel Monk accepted a Commission under his Relation the Lord L'isle, whom the Parliament had appointed to the Government of Ireland. When in Consequence of this, he obtained his Liberty, he went before he left the Tower to pay his Respects to the venerable Doctor Matthew Wren, Lord Bishop Ely, and having received his Blesfing, the Colonel took his Leave in these Words, My Lord, I am now going to serve the King, the best I may, against his bloody Rebels in Ireland; and I hope I shall one Day live to do further Service to the Royal Caufe in England h. At this Time, however, he was not very fortunate; for after a short Stay in that Kingdom he returned with Lord L'ifle, whose Difference with the Marquiss of Ormande hindered either of them from ferving their Country effectually. But Colonel Monk did not long remain idle in England; for the Parliament knew his Abilities too well, and had too quick a Sense of the State of Irish Affairs not to employ him in the only Service to which he was inclined: and thus he returned a third Time into Ireland, with the Title of Commander in Chief of the English Forces in the North, where he affociated with Monroe, who commanded a Body of Scots; and though it was a very difficult Thing to manage fuch a conjunct Authority, yet the Prudence of Monk enabled him to furmount this Difficulty, and some which were yet greater. He was forced to make War without Money, which

Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 25. See also the Preface by Dr. Webster, where there is a Letter from Mr. Monk to his elder Brother, dated from the Tower, Nov. 6, 1644, acknowledging the Receipt of 501 and desiring the like Sum.

h Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 28. This Fact was taken Notice of in Bishop Wren's Diary, once in the Possession of Dr. Moore Bishop of Ely.

which he did so effectually as to reduce Owen Roe O Neile, to the utmost Distress, by carrying off Provisions where that was practicable, and burning them where it was not. Yet in the Spring of the Year 1649, Colonel Monk found himself in so weak a Condition by the Defertion brought on his Army through the Deteftation the Soldiers had of the King's Murder, that he was constrained to enter into a Treaty with this Owen Roe O Neile,; which certainly saved the few Troops he had under his Command, and thereby preserved the Parliament's Interest in that Country 1. However, it gave such Offence, that on his Return he was subjected to a strict Enquiry by the House of Commons, who after a full Hearing of the Matter, came to a Resolution against the Treaty, but in Justification of Monk's Intention therein, which some think the General never forgot k. I must own this appears to me one of the darkest Parts of History; but what I find most probable is, that the Parliament's Resolution was intended purely to wipe off the Odium of having treated with an Irish Papist, and that Colonel Monk did nothing therein but under Direction: and this I think sufficiently appears from the Parliament's having carried on a private Treaty with an Agent of O Neile's at London 1, and from the Stile of their Resolution, in which, though they declare the Fact to be criminal, yet they admit the Man to be innocent; which I conceive he could not well be, unless he had known their Intentions m.

OLIVER Cromwell was now entrusted with the sole Direction of the Irish War, and Monk was out of all Employment; which might have straitned him in his private Fortune, if his elder Brother had not died without Issue Male, by which he inherited

Ludlow's Memoirs, Gumble's Life of Monk, Skinner's Life of Moderate Intelligencer from June 7 to 14, 1649, No. Monk. 221. History of Independency, part ii. p. 226. Whitlock's Memorials, History of the War in Ireland, and the several Lives of 1 Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 294, 295. Monk before-cited. m The Resolution is in these Words, "That this House doth utterly " disapprove of the Proceedings of Colonel Monk in the Treaty " and Cessation made between him and Owen Roe O Neile; and " that this House doth detest the Thoughts of closing with any Party " of Popish Rebels there, who have had their Hands in shedding Eng-" lish Blood. Nevertheless the House being satisfied, that what the " faid Colonel Monk did therein, was, in his Apprehension, necessa-" ry for the Preservation of the Parliament of England's Interest; " That the House is content the further Consideration thereof, as to " him, be laid afide, and shall not at any Time hereafter be called " in Question."

herited the Estate of the Family. About this Time also he declared his Marriage, or perhaps somewhat later; for, it feems, he did not care the World should know he had a Wife. till he was fure of a Fortune to maintain her". His Repose was of no long Continuance; for in the Year 1650, Cromwell, when he was about to march into Scotland against the King, engaged him to accept of a new Commission. Skinner and some other Writers talk of a secret Fate which over-ruled him in this Action o; nay, some of them would infinuate, that it was purely to revenge the Treason of the Scots against King Charles 1. that he took Arms against them now, when they were fighting to restore King Charles II P. But I must freely own, that it appears to me the highest Impiety to charge upon the Providence of God, what would be thought Weakness in Man; as, on the other Hand, I see no Reason why we should facrifice Truth to our Zeal for any Person, or any Cause. I revere Monk as much as any Man, and yet I must speak it as my Opinion, that he deferted his Principles upon this Occasion, that he might gratify his Ambition. Cromwell was so sensible of his Merit, that he took a very unufual Way to provide him with a Regiment, by drawing fix Companies out of Sir Arthur Hasterig's, and fix out of Colonel Fenwick's Regiment; and to secure him farther, he made him Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, and thus he was again embarked with the Parliament through the Interest of their General 9.

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Officer, certainly ran into a dangerous Error, which he discovered somewhat of the latest, and then began to retreat towards Dunbar, the Scots pressing hard upon his Rear. Finding himself distressed, he called a Council of War, in which Opinions were divided, till General Monk delivered his in these Words, Sir, the Scots have Numbers and the Hills; those are their Advantages: we have Discipline and Despair, two Things that will make Soldiers fight; and these are ours. My Advice, therefore, is to attack them immediately; which if you sollow, I am ready to command the Van. His Proposal being accepted, he began the Attack, and, as Ludlow acknowledges, was the Instrument of that Victory, which gained Cromwell so great Reputation. The sollowing Summer he spent in reducing the

Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 33. Lives English and Foreign, Thurloe's Papers, vol. i. p. 470.

Life of General Monk, p. 36.

See Gumble's Life of Monk, and Prince's Worthies of Devon.

Whitlock, Ludlow, Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.

Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 38. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 328.

best Part of Scotland, and particularly the Town of Dundee, which made a good Defence: he took it notwithstanding by Storm, put 600 of the Garrison to the Sword, and committed other Acts of Severity, which, however necessary they might be to his private Interest, were certainly detrimental enough to his public Character, the Thing itself rendering him terrible to the Royalists, and the Manner of it giving Distaste to General Ludlow, and all the fober Men of that Party . The Fatigue of fo much Bufiness, and perhaps some extraordinary Agitations of Mind, threw him into a dangerous Fit of Sickness, upon this he applied for Leave to return into England; which having obtained, he went to Bath, recovered his Health, and coming to London, found himself named a Commissioner for bringing about an Union between Scotland and England, in which without Doubt he was properly employed, fince few People at that Time knew the Interest of both Nations better than he did t.

THE Dutch War gave Occasion for removing General Monk from his Command in Scotland, in order to employ him on board the Fleet. The Death of Colonel Popham made Way for this. It was necessary to supply his Loss, by fending an experienced Officer in his Stead, and this induced the Parliament to cast their Eyes upon Monk. He was now near forty-five Years of Age, which seemed a little of the latest to bring a Man into a new Scene of Life. Yet it must be remembered that he was bred in a Maritime County, and had ferved at Sea in his Youth; so that the Preferment was not absolutely out of his Way; or, if it was, he foon made it appear, that he could eafily inure himself to any Service that might be beneficial to his Country. We find him with the Fleet in May, 1653, and on the 2d of June he engaged the Dutch Fleet, being on board The Resolution with Admiral Deane, who, in the beginning of the Action was killed by a Chain-Shot, a new Invention generally

s Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 40. where he slips over the Matter without any particular Notice, Lives English and Foreign, p. 137. where it is expressly said, that he put the Governor, Robert Lumsdane, and 800 of his Garrison to the word. Sir Philip Warwick in his Memoirs, p. 361, says, the Governor was barbarously shot, after Quarter given, by a fanatic Officer. General Ludlow, in his Memoirs, vol. i. p 366, affirms quite the contrary, viz. that he stormed Dundee, and being entered, put 5 or 600 to the Sword, and commanded the Governor, with divers others, to be killed in cold Blood. Gumble's and Skinner's Life of Monk.

generally ascribed to de Wit". Mank with great Presence of Mind threw his Cloak over the Body, and having fetched two or three Turns, and encouraged the Men to do their Duty, ordered it to be removed into his Cabin. The Dispute continued two Days, and ended at last in a compleat Victory gained by the English. The Dutch, it is true, denied this, and the States went fo far as to fend a Letter to their Foreign Ministers, directing them to affert that it was but a drawn Battle "; yet Van Tromp in his Letter acknowledges the contrary, and lays the blame on the Want of Ammunition, and the base Behaviour of many of his Captains x. This is certain, that Monk difcovered upon this Occasion such a Spirit of pushing Things to the utmost, as gave him great Reputation. He soon encreased this, by engaging the Dutch again the 29th of July, when he likewise fought two Days, and gained a compleat Victory, as we have elsewhere shewn y, and shall therefore infift only on a few Particulars relating to his Conduct in this Place. The Dutch Fleet was far superior to his, and yet he not only attacked them, but engaged with thirty Sail of Light Frigates, while the rest of the Fleet were a-stern, and could not get up. The 30th proved a foul Day, and so prevented any further fighting. On the 31st the Dutch had a Supply of twenty-five large Ships, which did not hinder Monk, (who now commanded in Chief) from attacking them, though he knew they had another great Advantage, viz. a Number of Fire-ships, whereas he had none: nay, as if he had been secure of the Victory, he gave Orders, that no Ship should be taken, or Quarter given; for he faw that fending off Ships to convoy them, weakened his own Fleet, and thereby lessened the Effects of their Victories 2. His Judgment appeared to be right from the Confequence of this Battle, in which the Loss of the Dutch, especially that of their gallant Admiral Von Tromp was so great, that it would not admit of any Disguise; but the States were forced to send their Ministers hither, to conclude a Peace upon any Terms that could be got a. After this, he was fent upon the Coast of Holland,

[&]quot;Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 45. Lives English and Foreign, p. 139. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 366. Whitlock, Ludlow, Rapin, &c. "The Reader may find this very Letter in Thurloe's Papers, vol. i. p. 273. "This Letter is also printed in the same Collection, vol. i. p. 270. "P. 116. Basinage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 240. Heath's Chronicle, p. 348. Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Echard, Rapin. Clarendon, Whitlock, Ludlow, Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, and Skinner's Life of Monk.

land, to destroy all the Pretensions of the Dutch, and to make their People sensible that they were throughly beaten. On his Return to London he found the little Parliament fitting by the Authority of General Cromwell, who treated Monk however fo kindly, that the General began to be jealous of him, till upon repeated Conversations, he was throughly persuaded that Monk thought them, what he was willing every Body should think them, a Crew of ignorant Enthusiasts; and then he became perfectly easy, and took Monk into his Favour, who, notwithstanding all this Kindness, declared himself against the Peace intended with the Dutch, which Cromwell nevertheless made, having taken upon him the Title of Protector. And to this the States contributed not a little by their Ambassadors, who reprefented to General Cromwell, that the Parliament he had been pleased to call, were a Set of Men fitter for Bedlam than the Government of a State, with whom it was impossible to treat or conclude any Thing; but that, if he would assume the Government, they would fubmit to any Terms he should think reasonable b. When he was once fixed in his Protectorate, and felt the Weight of governing three Kingdoms, he began to think of eafing himself, by sending proper Officers into two of them; and in this Partition, Scotland fell to the Share of General Monk. It was in the Spring of the Year 1654, that Cromwell took this Resolution, and Monk readily accepting the Commission, went down thither in the Month of April'c.

He found the Kingdom in the utmost Consusion, the English Army very small, and very ill governed, being under the Command of Colonel Deane, a timorous Man, and one that knew not how to direct any thing in such a critical Conjuncture. A great Part of the Nobility were in Arms for the King; and as to the rest of the People, they were split into innumerable Parties, by Quarrels amongst their Ministers d. The General shewed himself a true Servant of Cromwell's; he not only pursued the Business of the War indesatigably, but by setting a Price on the Heads of the principal Cavaliers, filled their Minds with such Distrusts, that they ever after acted as in Consusion c. He erected

b Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 51.

Cromwell, Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 55. Whitlock's Memorials.

d Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath, Gumble, and Skinner's Life of Monk.

e See this Proclamation, figned G. Monk, and dated at Dalkeith,
May 5th, 1654. In it he mentions Major General Middleton, the
Earl of Athol, the Earl of Seaforth, the Lord Viscount Kenmure,
and Major General Dayel; for the killing of whom, or bringing them

P 2

erected Garisons and Magazines in the most distant Parts of the Nation, using such Severity towards all who resisted, and fuch Lenity to all who submitted, that in a very short Time he subdued the whole Kingdom. When the War was over, he fixed himself at the House of the Countess of Buccleugh, at Dalkeith, within four Miles of Edinburgh; where, while he governed the Kingdom more absolutely than most of its Monarchs had done, he lived with all the Moderation of a private Man, and made Husbandry and Gardening his fole Diversions f. Cromwell sent down a Commission to direct Civil Affairs, under the Title of a Council of State, confishing of the Lord Brogbil who was Prefident, Colonel Howard, afterwards Earl of Carlifle, Colonel William Lockhart, Colonel Adrian Scroop, Colonel John Wetham, and Major-General Different 8. The Majority of this Council concurred with Monk in every Thing, so that in the main, the Civil as well as Military Power was in his Hands, and he managed it in fuch a Manner, that the People had not either Reason or Inclination to complain; but on the contrary, were very thankful and contented. He feems, however, by his Letters, to have been strongly attached to Cromwell, fince we find, that he not only communicated to him all that he could discover of the King's Intelligence there with others, but fent him also the Copy of a Letter, written by King Charles II. to himself; which hisherto has been always mentioned as a Proof of Monk's early Affection for the King's Service, on a Suppositi n, that though he did not answer, he concealed it; which Supposition is now overturned h. Yet all his Precaution did not fecure him from the Jealoufy of the Protector, who was actually contriving how to remove him, when Death put an End to his Projects. A little before his End however, he wrote the General a long Letter, concluding with the following Poffscript, which I conceive affords us a better Picture of Oliver, than is any where to be met with, and which is fingular drawn by his own Hand 1.

" THERE

Prisoners to an English Garison, he offers 200 Pounds a Head. This Proclamation is in the late Collection of Thurloe's State-Papers vol. ii. p. 261.

Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 70. Gumble, Prince, &c.

Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath, Skinner. Prince.

This Letter of King Charles II. to Monk, is dated Colen, August 12, 1655, and was communicated to Dr. Peter Barwick, by Monk's Son, as a Proof of his Father's early Loyalty: but it appears from Thurloe's Papers, that Monk gave an Account of every Thing that passed in Scotland, and particularly sent him up this very Letter, with many others.

Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 72.

** THERE be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning
** Fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who is faid to lye in
** wait there, to introduce Charles Stuart. I pray use your
** Diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me."

YET, as a Creature of Cromwell's, he was hated by the Common-wealth Party, and a Conspiracy had been formed against him by Colonel Overton, in which Sindercome had undertaken to murder the General, who afterwards made a like Attempt upon Cromwell; but Monk having discovered and disappointed the Plot, contented himself with sending the Authors of it up to London k. The principal Cause of the Protector's Jealoufv, was the Kindness shewn by the General to the Scots, for finding them of his own Temper, that is to fay, of a Civil, though referved Nature, he admitted them freely to his Prefence, of what Party foever they were. Immediately on Oliver's Death, he proclaimed Richard, from whom he received a very kind Letter, which contained a Fact not likely to be true, viz. that his Father had directed him to be governed chiefly by Monk's Advice; whereas he was scarce in his Senses, when he appointed him to the Succession. The further to conciliate Monk's Friendship, the Protector fent down Commissary Clarges, Brother to Lady Monk, laden with _romifes; which, however, had no Effect upon the wary General, who received his Commands respectfully, wrote a civil Answer to Thurloe's smooth Letter, and took all the Care he could to fecure his Command in Scotland, 'till he faw what Turn Things in England would take, it having been his Opinion, that, if Oliver had lived much longer, he would have been shaken in his Seat m.

The succeeding Troubles in England, therefore, were very far from surprising him. On the contrary, they were what he looked for, and expected; and it was very easy to foresee, that in Consequence of them, some Attempts would be made to restore the King. It would be teside the Design of this Treatise; it would require much more Room than we have to spare; and, after all, it would be in a great Measure needless, considering what has been already written on the Subject, for us to enter deeply into the Intrigues made use of, while General Monk was in Scotland, to bring him into that Interest a. We shall P 2

k Thurloe's State-Papers, vol. iv. p. 132.

Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 75.

Clarendon, Whitlock, Gumble, Skinner, and Price.

The Curious Reader may confult the Life of Dean Barwick,

content ourselves therefore with saying, that he acted in this Matter with the utmost Prudence and Circumspection; so that what the Earl of Clarendon and Bishop Burnet have suggested, that he was a Man of flow Parts and flender Abilities, ought to be confidered rather as the Effect of their Prejudices, than of the General's Conduct o. The Truth is, they were both out of this Secret; that is to fay, the former had no Hand in it, and the latter had never so much as heard of it, which was Reason enough for them to write as they did. The General's Council confitted chiefly of Ladies. He corresponded in England with the Lady Saville; he managed all Scotland by the Affistance of the Countess of Buccleugh, and consulted much, in regard to his personal Conduct, with his Wife, a Woman of quick Parts, and a thorough Royalift. He had, befides, some Confidents, who will appear to Posterity more worthy of the Trust he reposed in them, for having never boasted of the Assistance they gave him, as others did, who afforded him much lefs. Among the first, I reckon his Wife's Brother Doctor Clarges, Colonel Cloberry, and General Morgan; amongst the latter his Chaplains Price and Gumble, with many others P.

In the Management of all great Undertakings, the furest Signs of a true Genius, is, the Disposition of its several Parts. This shews the first Mover; this marks the ruling Character, that Superiority of Skill and Conduct which denominates a Man truly wise and great. Let us see, then, what it was Monk was

to

Barwick, wherein he will find the best Accounts that were ever published of this Matter; and yet the Earl of Clarendon says nothing of the Services of this Doctor John Barwick, though no Man was better acquainted with them than himself: which shews, that there are some Things in which that History is not altogether to be depended on. o It is clear from what Lord Clarendon fays, that he was altogether unacquainted with the General's Intentions, and could only collect his Defign from his Manner of acting. His Reservedness, therefore, to fo haughty a Man, might well enough induce him to fpeak fo coldly as he does of the General's Performances. Yet he does not pretend to enter deeply into his Character, as Burnet does, who must know much less of it, and that only from Conversation in a Court where Monk's Patriotism and Severity of Morals, had left him few Friends, and created him many Enemies. P The Capital Secret of the Restauration was the General's forming the Design of it, which he did in Scotland, and by the Affistance of the Counters of Buccleugh, drew all the Loyal Nobility to confide in him: a Thing which Bishop Burnet knew nothing of, though it was in Truth the great Spring of the Affair, and the clearest Proof that the General acted uniformly through the whole Expedition.

ter

to overthrow, what to establish, and what Force he had to do it with. He was to change a Settlement, new indeed in itself, but in Appearance, so much the stronger, having all the Authority in the three Kingdoms; a Veteran Army of upwards of 30,000 men in England and Ireland, and a victorious Fleet on its Side. He was to restore a lost Cause, in the Opinion of its best Friends; a Cause which he durst not so much as own; a Cause against which himself had done much, and the Troops he commanded, more; all which he was to do, with a Body of between 5 and 6000 Men, which were so far from being better Troops than those they were to oppose, that in Reality they were not their Equals. Yet he performed what he purposed, he triumphed over all these Dissiculties; and he did this by a just Distribution of the several Parts of his Scheme, any one of which, had it been omitted or misplaced, had ruined the whole.

HE secured Scotland behind him, raised a sufficient Sum of Money to put the first Springs in Motion, and excited such a Spirit in his Army, as fitted it for the present Work. Next he took Care to stir the Humours in the Body Politic; to rouse and animate all the Parties in the Nation, that they might move, and act, and shew their Strength. He set up Fairfax against Lambert, and broke his Veteran Army, by shewing them their old General. He made use of honest Doctor Price to feed the Royalists with Hopes, while his own Actions could give them none. By the talkative Mr. Gumble, he wrought upon the Common-wealth's Men: by gracious and yet general Answers, he kept himself well with all Parties, without declaring for any. He prevailed with the Parliament to part with a better Army than his own, merely from the Opinion of his being their best Friend: When he came to London, he shewed himself the very best of their Servants, by obsequiously performing the dirtiest of their Work, and thereby proving them to be the worst of Masters, he paved the Way for outing them of their Authority. Thus he went beyond them in their own Arts, outstripped them in Cunning, and having the City and the Country, as well as the Fleet and the Army, on his Side, he gave Law to those who had been so long Dictators 9.

By recalling the secluded Member, he of a Rump made them a House, and, by their own Consent, fairly dissolved that long Parliament, which might otherwise have been everlasting. Af-

9 See Clarendon, Whitlock, Ludlow, Kennet, Echard, Rapin; as also Gumb'e's Life of Monk, Doctor Price's Mystery and Method of the Restauration, Skinner's Life of Monk, and Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.

ter doing all this, he did still more; he refused the Kingdom, when it was offered him by the distracted Republicans, to keep it from i's right Owner, and when our old Enemies, the French, would have lent him their Assistance to have hindred the Return of a Monarch, who they forefaw, unless they misled him, must be the first in Europe; and this they did as good Politicians, though that Monarch was a Grandson of France. But Monk generously despised a Diadem to which he had no Right, and with equal Greatness of Mind, refused to make any Terms with him to whom it belonged r. He faw the Folly of cobling Constitutions, and pretending to take Power from one Set of Men to give it to another: he chose, therefore, like a wise and honest Man, to fix Things upon their old Bostom, and to leave the King's Power, and the People's Freedom, to be difcuffed in the only Affembly that could have a Right to meddle with them. Thus was the Restauration begun, prosecuted, and perfected by Monk, who received as Favours from the King, his Titles, Preferments and Fortune; which to be fure he might have had in another Way. And yet this is the Man whom almost all our Histories treat, as having only second Rate Parts, acting as he was prompted by Men of brifker Tempers, and invited by favourable Occasions; as a horrid Dissembler, though he refused to take the Engagement, and was never concerned in the War against Charles I. as an avaritious, all-grasping Perfon, though it is a nfeffed, that he asked nothing from his Sovereign, to whom he gave all; as a Man utterly unfit for Bufiness, who yet had shewn himself a great Captain in Ireland, an excellent Governor in Scotland, and a profound Statesman in England; not to mention his Reputation as an Admiral, acquired by humbling Holland: but it is one Thing to merit a Character, and another to purchase it. The latter was not Monk's Talent, he provided for his Relations and Friends, but he was no Encourager

If Mr. Locke, on the Credit of the Earl of Shaftesbury, has published a very strange Story in relation to the Conduct of this great Man. as if he had agreed with the French Ambassador to take upon him the Government; which Story is reported at large by Echard in his History, p. 757. But this, as it is incredible in its Nature, so it is improbable in its Circumstances, and supported by no Authority in the World, but that of a vain Man, who was desirous of taking the Merit of the Restauration to himself.

The very Enemies of Monk have always allowed him this eminent Service of restoring the King without Conditions, to which we owe that ten Years Calm, succeeding the King's Return; whereas, if he had submitted to Conditions, we must, from the Nature of Things, have relapsed into Confusion immediately.

courager of Flatterers, and withal being a bad Courtier, he was feldom thought of after the Restauration but when he was necessary, and this happening pretty often, leads us to the rest of his History, in which we shall still find him appear with Ho-

nour, and perform with Success.

THE Command of the Army was continued to the Duke of Albemarle as long as there was an Army to command: he was likewise made Master of the Horse, and one of the King's Bedchamber. Bishop Burnet has said abundance of invidious Things of him; and this will make it necessary to shew how false they are, and how little Credit is due to all the Infinuations of that Prelate against this great Man's Character. He says he was ravenous, as well as his Wife, who was a mean contemptible Creature, (bad Words these in a Bishop's Mouth, who at other Times could fay foft Things of the Ladies) and adds, that he foon loft all perfonal Regard by becoming useless t. When he was created a Duke, the King settled 7000 1. a Year on him, though 100,000 l. had been proposed before the Restauration took Place. When he was called up by Writ to the House of Lords, he was attended by almost a whole House of Commons to the Door; a very unufual Mark of Respect, which could only be due to extraordinary Merit, and must have flowed from their Sense of it. Various Plots were framed immediately after the King's Return; and in all these the Duke's Life was particularly aimed at; this feems to be a strong Proof of his Confequence, and, if we were to demand another, we cannot defire a better than what all the Histories of those Times tell us, viz. That these Insurrections were chiefly suppressed by his Activity at the Head of his own faithful Regiment ". His Success in this Respect gave him an Opportunity of deserving as much from the Nation by his Patriotism, as ever he did from the King by his Loyalty. It was suggested in Council, that these Tumults shewed how little Use could be made of Trained-Bands; and, therefore, that it was fit a Part of the Army should be kept up. The Duke faid, this could not be done without giving the People a Jealoufy of the King; and that the best Way to gain their Affections, was to rely upon them w. I leave the Reader to judge, with what Decency this Man could be faid to forfeit all personal Regard, and to become in a short Time useless.

But

t Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. book ii. u Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle. See also his Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, Life of Dean Barwick, Skinner's Life of General Monk, Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs. w Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 322.

But the Bishop is not content with barely characterizing this noble Person, he charges him with three glaring Crimes; which, as they relate to the most eminent Actions of his Life, we shall briefly consider. The first is the Murder of the Marquis of Argyle. This Nobleman was questioned before the Parliament of Scotland, for concurring with the late rebellious Powers. He pleaded, that he complied with them only, and made a very ftrong Defence : but the Bishop fays, that Monk having several Letters of his, which fully shewed that his Inclinations as well as his Actions were with the prevailing Party; he fent thefe down, which were read in Parliament, and by this Breach of private Friendship he brought the Marquis to the Block y. Now to this I fay, that the Fact cannot be true for many Reafons: I shall mention only a few. First, the Marquis in his Defence complains, that he was furprized into being prefent at Oliver's Proclamation as Protector, by General Monk's fending for him to the Council, without letting him know what was to be done. Would he have complained of this, and have passed by the Letters; or would not this Complaint have been ridiculous, if there had been any fuch Letters ? II. The Marquis died with an Appeal to God for the Sincerity of his Defence, and wrote a Letter to the King, affirming the fame Thing, a Copy of which I have feen 2. Would fo wife a Man, as the Marquiss certainly was, have done this, if, as Burnet says, his own Letters had made the Thing so plain, that his Friends had nothing to fay? III. This does not at all agree with Monk's Character. He was an Advocate for Mercy to the Regicides in the House of Lords; he was filent on the Bench at the Old Bailey, when commissioned to try them; and, which is much more to the Purpose, he faved Sir Arthur Hasterig's Life and Estate (the bitterest personal Enemy he had in the World) by owning a Promise to him, which some say he never made. This feems to shew him of no betraying Spirit b. IV. There was no Occasion for Argyle to write any such Letters, for Monk never was in England after Oliver became Protector; and it is hard to understand, why the Marquis should apply to him

The Proceedings against him may be sound in the 2d Volume of the State-Trials y Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. book ii.

State-Trials, vol. ii. By the Favour of his Nephew, the Honourable Mr. Archibald Campbell. In this Letter, the Marquis insists on his Loyalty in very high Terms; and indeed there is all the Reason in the World to believe he never meant any thing more in his proceedings in Scotland, than to restrain the power of the Crown within due Bounds. Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 319, 320.

in Scotland, when he could so easily have Audience of Cromwell in London, where he often was c. V. But the Thing is now out of Doubt; for by the Publication of Thurloe's Papers it appears that Monk never considered the Marquiss in this Light, but always represented him as a secret Friend to the King, and an

active Enemy to the Protector's Government d.

THE second Imputation on the Duke of Albemarle's Conduct is his recommending the Match with Portugal. It is admitted that this Proposition was made by the Portuguese Embassador to the Duke before the King's actual Return, and that he proposed it to his Majesty as a Measure proper for extending the Trade, and increasing the Influence of his Subjects abroad. It is likewife true, that the Duke thought the Acquisition of Tangier a very confiderable thing; which will be the less wondered at, if we consider, that in Cromwell's time there was a Project of getting it into our Possession. If, therefore, the Duke was for this Match from right Motives, and with a View to the Interest of his King and Country, as it was plain he was, it is very hard to arraign his Behaviour upon Consequences, which it is certain he could not foresee, and very probably had never considered. Besides, another Queen might have been barren as well as Catherine, and have brought the Nation no Advantage at all; whereas, it is certain, that our close Conjunction with Portugal has been very beneficial to us as a Nation, and that our Acquisitions of Bombay and Tangier became useless, or at least inconfiderable, through our own Fault, through the perpetual Struggle of Factions amongst us, which have been always our Bane; and therefore, to attribute these to the Conduct of Monk, or to condemn him for advising a Treaty of Marriage, which was thoroughly canvaffed in, and approved by the Parliament, is as unreasonable as it is unjust f.

We find the Sale of Dunkirk charged folely upon the Duke, as if he had contrived and made the Bargain for it, but then we have no other Evidence than that it was Bishop Burnet's Opinion, grounded I suppose on Court Conversation ; for I

c Skinner's Life of Monk, chap. vii.
d See the Articles of Argyle and Monk, in the 3d, 4th, and 5th Volumes of Thurloe's State Papers; and thence it will plainly appear, that there was no Harmony between them, and confequently no Ground to suppose that the Marquiss would lay himself open to him by his Letters.
c Burnet's History, as before cited.
f Philips, Kennet, Echard, Skinner's Life of Monk, &c.
The Bishop's Words are these: "The matter under Debate was, whether this "Place"

find it charged by others, who feem to be as well informed as he, to the Account of other great Counsellors. That it is not likely the Motion came from him, the Reader will eafily discern, when I put him in mind of his great Fondness for acquiring Tangier, and that by the 19th Article of the same Treaty of Marriage it was provided that Dunkirk should never be restored to Spain, which shews how much he had the keeping it at Heart h. To speak candidly, it is a very difficult Thing to know who advised this Sale, or rather, who confented to it. Some French Writers tell us the Affair was negotiated between the Count d'Estrades, the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, the Lord Treasurer Southampton, the Duke of Albemarle, and the Earl of Sandwich. The two former are acquitted by Burnet and some other Writers; and as to what he fays of the Duke's afferting the place not to be tenable, and thereby inducing the King to be more easy in parting with it; I find that Advice ascribed by others to the Earl of Sandwich, who to be fure was best acquainted with it, I mean with the place, its Confequence, and the possibility of keeping it 1. However the Duke acted in the Matter, it is plain he was not alone in his Sentiments, and though, without question, the giving up Dunkirk was a very wrong Step, yet I think there is much better Evidence to fix it upon the King's Necessities, and his express Will and Pleasure, in order to come at so considerable a Supply as 500,000 l. without the Affistance of Parliamen, than to charge it upon the Duke, who, for ought that appears, had no more to do with it than the rest of the Lords of the WHEN Council k.

" Place ought to be kept or fold. The military men who were be-" lieved to be corrupted by France, faid the Place was not tenable; " that in Time of Peace it would put the King to a great Charge, " and in Time of War, it would not quit the Cost of keeping it. "The Earl of Clarendon said, he understood not those matters, but " appealed to Monk's Judgment, who did positively advise the letting " itgo for the money that France offered." Yet I do not find the Duke of Albemarle particularly charged in the most authentic Account we have of this Matter, which is Sir Edward Harley's Account of the Expences and Treasure of Dunkirk, a MS. in the Harleian Library. * Echard, p. 801. 1 The true Reason why so great a Noise was made about this Affair, was, an Inclination expressed by the Parliament to annex this Town to the Kingdom of England, and thereby render it inseparable. This was done at the motion of Sir Edward Harley, who had been Governor of it, and who was so good a Patriot, that he refused a Peerage, and 10,000 l. to be passive in this matter; and for this my Authority is, Histoire de la Maison de Harley, par Monsieur Moret, MS. * The Queen mother, whose Pre-

WHEN the first Dutch War broke out in 1664, we find the Duke of Albemarle's Name among the Lords of the Council subscribing the proclamation: and there seems to be no Reason to doubt, that he was very hearty in that Measure; whereas the Chancellor and the Treasurer were both against it 1. The Duke of York, as we have before feen, at the Beginning of the War commanded the Fleet in person, and upon this Occasion he devolved the whole Administration of the Admiralty on the Duke of Albemarle; and this with such Circumstances of Confidence as demonstrated his Sense of his Grace's Capacity and Fidelity m. This, added to his former Employments, might have sufficiently occupied him, and have even rendered the conferring on him any other Charge, a Thing unthought of; and yet, when the plague broke out in the succeeding Year, and the King saw himself obliged to leave his Capital, he entrusted the Care of it, of his Subjects, and the chief Concerns of his Kingdom, to this Duke, who

fence and Councils were always fatal to this Nation, was here at the Time; and one great Cause of the King's Want of Money, was to fettle a Court for her at Somerset house; another to pay the Portion of the King's Sister to the Duke of Orleans. The French King vifibly promoted this Clamour about Dunkirk, by striking a Medal on the Purchase with this Legend, Providentia Principis, i. e. By the Attention of the Prince. In the Exergue, Dunquerca Recuperata, 1 Kennet, Echard, Rapin. m This Leti. e. Dunkirk restored. ter deserves the Reader's perusal, because it is a direct proof of the Falshood of this Affertion, That the Duke of Albemarle lost his Credit soon after the Restauration. It runs thus:

" My Lord Duke of Albemarle, " Having formerly by the King's Approbation, defired you to take the Care of giving all necessary Orders for the Affairs of the Navy "during my Absence, in the same manner as I ought to do if present, " I should not now need to repeat it to you, were it not to acquaint "you, that I have not only by Word of Mouth, but also by Writ-"ing, given the principal Officers and Commanders of his Majesty's " Navy. Directions to execute all your Commands. I defire you, if " you find any Commanders or other Officers, negligent in the Dif-" patch expected from them for his Majesty's Service, not to be spar-"ing in using your Authority for their Punishment: whether by dis-" placing them, or such other Way as you shall think fit. I have " commanded my Secretary to leave with you all fuch Things as may " be necessary for your Information: if any Thing be wanting, up-"on the least Intimation it shall be supplied. So bidding you hearti-" ly farewell, I am. &c.

" March 22, 1664-5, This Letter was transcribed from a MS. in the Hands of the late Lord Frederick Howard.

who resided at the Cockpit, near Whitehall, and with the Assistance of the Earl of Craven, and some other public spirited perfons of Distinction, took Care of the Health, the properties, and Government of the Inhabitants of this great City, distributing daily the vast Charities that were raised for the Supply of the Distressed, giving Audience to all who had any Business with him, directing the Assairs of the Navy, while we were engaged in a War of such Consequence, and giving a constant Account of whatever happened, to the King and his Ministers at Oxford. Such was the Courage, such were the Labours of this great Man, who, in the Midst of devouring Insection, did in a Manner the whole Business of the Nation; and yet he is said to have forseited all personal Regard, and to have become use-

less in a short Time after the Restauration.

WHILE he was yet charged with all these fatiguing Offices, the King, in the Spring of the succeeding Year, sent for him fuddenly to Oxford. He went thither post, and on his Arrival, after paying his Compliments to his Majesty, and giving him a fuccinct Account of the Posture in which he had left Affairs at London, he was told, that the Intent of fending for him thither, was, to make him joint Admiral of the Fleet with Prince Rupert, and that he must immediately prepare to go to He defired a Day's time to confider of it, in which Space he consulted with his Friends, who were almost unanimously against his accepting the Command. They faid that he had already established his Character as a Soldier, Seaman, and Statesman; and that it was unreasonable; at his Time of Life, for him to stake all the Honours he had won, on the Fortune of a Day. That the Dutch were already driven into that Fury, which made them most dangerous at Sea, and that attacking them now, was quite another Thing than it was at the Beginning of the War: that in short, the Loss of a Battel would exceedingly tarnish his Reputation, whereas, a Victory gained, could add very little thereto. The Duke thanked them for the Respect they had shewn for his Person and Character; but at the same Time added, "These were out of the Case; that he valued neither, farther than they were useful to his Country; and that he was determined to obey the King's Commands, fince he was fure he either could accomplish them, or die in the "Attempt o." Having accepted this Commission, he returned to London the third Day, and though the War and the Plague had both

n Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 331, 332, 333. Memoirs of the Dutch Wars, Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 335. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 471.

both made great Havock amongst the Seamen, yet it was no sooner known, that the Duke of Albemarle was to command the Fleet, than great Numbers offered themselves to the Service, because as they phrased it, "They were sure honest George (for to they called the Duke), would see them well fed, and just-

" ly paid P."

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His Grace, in Conjunction with Prince Rupert, used such Diligence in equipping the Fleet, that on the 23d of April, being St. George's Day, they took Leave of the King, and fell down the River in one of the Royal Barges to join the Fleet: when they arrived in the Downs, the King received Intelligence that the French had fitted out a flout Squadron to join with the States; upon which he fent down positive Orders to Prince Rupert, to fail with twenty of the best Frigates in the Fleet, to fight the French Navy before it could join the Dutch. This without Question, had been a right Measure, if the King's Intelligence had been good; but as, in Truth, there was no fuch French Squadron, so the taking off so great a part of the Fleet exposed the Remainder exceedingly. Some have suggested, that there was Treachery in this; and indeed, from Sir John Harman's Letter, giving an Account of the Battle which enfued, one would apprehend, that he was of this Opinion 4. It is, however, easy to account for the Thing otherwise, and by laying all Circumstances together, I must own myself persuaded, that this Intelligence was owing to the Arts of the French, who, by pretending to equip a great Squadron, and to fend it early to Sea, thought to amuse both us and the Dutch, and engage us by Dint of these Preparations to take false Measures; in which they succeeded, for the Dutch Fleet actually expected to be joined by them, as certainly as Prince Rupert did to meet them r.

The Duke of Albemarle commanding now alone, discovered, on the first of June, the Dutch Fleet, consisting of about seventy-six Sail of large Ships, whereas the Duke had not above sifty. We have already given an Account of this Battle's, and shall here, therefore, confine ourselves to such Circumstances, as concern the Duke's personal Behaviour. He immediately called a Council of War, composed of some of the gallantest Men that ever bore Commands in the English Navy, and there, "In regard several good Ships, besides The Royal Sovereign, then at Anchor in the Gunsteet (neither fully manned, nor "ready),

P Memoirs of the Dutch Wars, p. 39.

History of England, vol. iii. p. 281.

Le Clerc, de Neuville, Vie de Ruyter.

See p. 168.

e ready), would, upon their Retreat, be in Danger of a Surpri-" fal by the Enemy; and that fuch a Course might make " fome Impression upon the Spirit and Courage of the Seamen, who had not been accustomed to decline fighting with the "Dutch; it was at last unanimously resolved to abide them, and that the Fleet should presently be put in Readiness to fall into a Line "." Thus it appears, that this was an Act done by the whole Council of War, and upon very rational Motives; fo that to charge the Duke with running too great a Hazard from his Contempt of the Dutch, is treating his Memory ill, without any just Grounds ". The first Day the Enemy gained little or no Advantage, notwithstanding their great Superiority, this was entirely owing to the Duke's Example, who, though he was once obliged to be towed out of the Line, yet after making the necessary Repairs in his Rigging, bore into the Centre of the Dutch Fleet, where he engaged de Ruyter with incredible Fury w.

The next Morning the Duke called a second Council of War, in which he delivered himself thus. "If we had seared the Number of our Enemies, we should have sted Yesterday; but, though we are inferior to them in Ships, we are in all Things else superior. Force gives them Courage; let us, if we need it, borrow Resolution from the Thoughts of what we have formerly performed. Let the Enemy seel that tho our Fleet be divided, our Spirit is entire. At the worst, it will be more honourable to die bravely here, on our own Element, than to be made Spectacles to the Dutch. To be overcome is the Fortune of War; but to sty, is the Fashion of Cowards. Let us teach the World, that English-

Skinner's Life of General Monk. p. 340. u Bishop Burnet fays, that the English Fleet, by the End of the Fight, was quite unrigged, and were in no Condition to work themselves off, so that they must have been all taken, funk, or burnt, if Prince Rupert had not come in good Time. - The Court gave out that it was a Victory, and public Thanksgivings were ordered; which was a horrid Mocking of God, and a Lying to the World. We had, in one Respect Reafon to thank God, that we had not loft our whole Fleet. History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 377, 378. This Account is visibly false; for if the Dutch could have destroyed our whole Fleet, and were forced to sheer off, without doing it, this was a Victory, the Enemy's purpose being defeated. But the Dutch Admiral owned the Fact to be otherwise, and that the Duke with the English Fleet (before prince Rupert's Arrival) were the Aggressors to the last. lips's Chronicle, p. 551. Columna Rostrata, Skinner's Life of Monk.

men had rather be acquainted with Death than with Fear ." The Engagement began about Eight, and continued till it was Night; but our Fleet suffered so much, that in a Council of War held in the Afternoon, it was resolved to make a fair Retreat; which the Duke performed the next Day with great Prudence and Honour. In the Evening of that Day Prince Rupert with his Squadron came in, and the Duke's Fleet endeavouring to join it, The Royal Prince, commanded by Sir George Ayfcue, ran a-ground, and was burnt by the Enemy. Before Night, however, the English Fleets joined, and then it was unanimously resolved in a Council of War, that it would be injurious to his Majesty's Honour and the Reputation of the British Fleet, to suffer the Dutch to return with an Appearance of an Advantage, and that therefore, they should attack them the next Day as early as possible; which was accordingly done, when the Duke, notwithstanding his hard Service in the three former Engagements, passed, in Conjunction with the Prince, five Times through the Enemy's Fleet, and had in all Probability beat them at lath, if by an unlucky Accident the Prince's Ship had not been disabled, and soon after the Duke's; which however, did not hinder their firing upon the Dutch till it was dark?. Two Days after, the Fleet returned to our own Coast, and the Prince and Duke to London. On the Report of this extraordinary Action, many took the Liberty, as his Friends forefaw they would, to censure the Duke of Albemarle's Conduct; but the King having throughly examined the Matter, declared himself fully satisfied with his Behaviour; adding, that it was grounded on Reason and Necessity, and that the Honour of the Nation was concerned in it: that he had thereby given the greatest Instance of his own, and of the English Valour; and had raised the Reputation of our Naval Force to such a Height of Glory as would render it for ever terrible to its Enemies, and respected by its Friends 2.

The Dutch Fleet having suffered less, was again soon at Sea; but they had not been long upon our Coast before, to their Amazement, the English Fleet came out of the Thames, and then they stood over to their own Coast. On the 24th of July both Fleets were in Sight of each other, and the next Day by six in the Morning, a bloody Battle began, wherein the English gained

^{*} Skinner's History of the Composing the Affairs of England by the Restauration, &c. p. 88. Echard's History of England, p. 830.

* Philips's Chronicle, ubi supra, Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Echard, Rapin.

* Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 352.

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gained a clear and compleat Victory, and the Dutch were driven into their Ports. Upon this followed the burning the Town of Brandaris, by Sir Robert Holmes, where the Enemy's Loss, as Mr. Echard tells us, on the Authority of a good MS. in the Paper-Office, fell very little short of a Million Sterling. This was the last great Action performed at Sea by the Duke of Albemarle. On his Return, he found the City of London in Ashes, a Misfortune which, however, redounded to his Reputation, fince the People faid openly in the Streets as he paffed, that if his Grace had been there, the City had not been burnt; which is such an extravagant Mark of Affection for his Person, as could arise only from their perfect Satisfaction, in regard to what he had formerly performed: and it must also add much to his Character in the Opinion of all true Judges of Merit, that he was recalled from the Command of the Fleet by his Majesty, purely to quiet the Minds of the people upon this Misfortune b.

In the Spring of the Year 1667, the King had some new Advices given him about the Management of his Navy, which were by no means approved by the Duke of Albemarle. Drift of them was this, that as the Dutch were chiefly supported by Trade, as the Supply of their Navy depended upon Trade, and, as Experience shewed, nothing provoked the people so much as injuring their Trade, his Majesty should therefore apply himself to this, which would effectually humble them, at the fame Time that it would less exhaust us, than fitting out fuch mighty Fleets as had hitherto kept the Sea every Summer. Sir John Lawfon was particularly fond of this Doctrine, which by Degrees grew acceptable to the King, not fo much from a persuasion of its being just and reasonable, as from a Sense that it fuited with his own Condition, the vast Expences of his Court rendering it very difficult to raise such Sums as were requisite to keep up the Navy. Besides, there was a peace then treating, and the King had the strongest Assurances given him, from the French Court (on purpose to betray and mislead him), that the Dutch would fit out no Fleet that Summer; and upon these Motives the King took a fatal Resolution of laying up his great Ships, and keeping only a few Frigates on the Cruize c.

THE de Wits, who had perfect Intelligence of all that passed here, and who perhaps wanted not some Friends to propound such

^a History of England, p. 831. ^b Gumble's Life of Monk. ^c Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 367, 368. Kennet's Compleat History of England, Echard, Burnet, Rapin.

such destructive Measures as were then pursued, immediately laid hold of this Opportunity; and having first amused the King with an Attempt in Scotland, grounded on their Refentment, as it was faid, for the Injuries done their Trade by Privateers from thence, they in the midft of Summer came with a formidable Fleet, piloted by our own Traitors, into the Mouth of the Thames, and on Thursday the 11th of June, 1667, appeared before Chatham 4. In this trying Circumstance, the most dishonourable to the English Nation that perhaps ever happened in any Reign, the Duke of Albemarle was immediately thought of, as the fittest person to raise the Spirits of the people by his presence, and to deseat the Enemy's Designs by his Conduct. He did all, or even more than could be expected from him to frustrate the Scheme of the De Wits; but such a panick had struck the people, and such a Want of Capacity was visible in those who had the Direction of the King's Yards, that his Orders were very indifferently obeyed e. He caused, however, feveral Ships to be funk in the narrow passage by the Muscle-Bank, and took such other precautions as were of much Service; and, had he been well seconded, there is the greatest reason in the World to believe the Dutch had reaped no great Credit from this Undertaking. At least, this was the Opinion of the Parliament, who highly approved the Duke's Conduct, and on the Narrative he presented them in Relation to this Affair, they impeached Commissioner Pett, relying implicitly as to Facts. on the Credit of what his Grace was pleased to tell them f; so that it was a just Observation, and at the same Time a well turned Panegyric, of a learned Prelate, when he faid of the Duke's Behaviour in this unlucky Butiness, That even where the Issue of the whole Matter was not very prosperous, God was pleased to order His Part so, that he came off with immortal Honour and Reputation 8.

AFTER the Dutch War was over, and the King had it much in his Mind to do his People a Pleasure, he thought fit on the Decease of the Earl of Southampton, to put the Treasury into Commission; and that it might not be surmised that the Public was in any Danger from the Loss of so great a Man as

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d Philips's Chronicle, Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Echard, Rapin.
See his Grace's Account of this matter presented to Parliament, which may be found in several Books; but particularly in the History and Proceedings of the House of Commons, printed for Chandler, vol. i. p. 114.

See the Heads of this Impeachment in Echard, p. 853.

Dr. Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, in his Funeral Sermon on the Duke of Albemarle.

the Treasurer was allowed to be, the Duke of Albemarle was put at the Head of that Commission: and this was the last Mark of Royal Favour in this Kind which he received; for, lofing his Health fuddenly, (that till then he had furpizingly retained, in the midst of so many and so great Fatigues,) he chose to retire from public Bufiness, and to spend the Remainder of his Time in attending that Diffolution which appeared to be not far off h. Yet, as he had some Relief from his Distemper, which was a Dropfy, by the Affistance of one Dr. Sermon of Briftol, and when he relapfed again, continued long in a declining way, he still shewed much Loyalty to the King, and a very warm Affection for his Country. Many Vifits he received from his Majesty and the Duke of York, in his last Sickness, whom he always entertained with decent Discourses on the Impossibility of fupporting the Royal Authority any other Way, than by purfuing the true Interest of the Nation. He was likewise attended by the most considerable persons in both Houses of Parliament, whom he exhorted to maintain, in their legislative Capacities, a good Correspondence with the Crown, and with each other. This, he faid was the only Way to serve the People; for if once the Passions of private Men, or, which was the same Thing in another Dress, the particular Interest of Parties came to influence their Debates, the Public would reap no good Fruits from them. With the same Presence of Mind he regulated the Concerns of his Family, causing his only Son to be married to the Daughter of Lord Ogle, in his Chamber, on the 30th of December, 1668, and on the 3d of January following he quietly yielded up his Breath, fitting in his Chair, when he had lived near threescore and two Years 1.

AFTER speaking of him so fully in his public, it may not be amiss to say something of so great a Man in his private Capacity, the Temper of his Mind, and his Abilities, natural and acquired. As to his Person, he was a strong well-built Man, of a good Presence, and very able to endure Fatigue. The Advantages he derived from Nature were much strengthened by his Manner of Living. He was always an early Riser, his private Devotions, and whatever Family Concerns he had to manage, being constantly attended to and dispatched by seven o'Clock, when he gave Audience without Distinction to all who desired it, and constantly dispatched (if it was in his Power) every poor Man's Business on the Spot. He was an Enemy to

h Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 369.

i Skinner's Troubles of England composed. p. 104. Gumble's Life of Monk, and Skinner's. Lives English and Foreign, p. 196.

all Oppression in the Army, and used frequently to say, that his Officers should have Power to command and to protect, but not to terrify or pillage the Soldiers k. He was a strict Observer of Discipline, of which he gave a strange Instance at the End of the first Dutch War in Cromwell's Time. The Seamen came to the Navy-Office in Crouds to demand their Prize-Money: he told them, that there were 1500 Ships to be fold, and that they should then have their Money, with which they seemed to be satisfied; but in the Afternoon there came 4 or 5000 of them armed towards Whitehall, which Monk hearing met them at Charing-Cross, in Company with Cromwell and some other Officers, where without much Expostulation he drew his Sword, and wounded several of them, upbraiding them with not depending on his Word, who never broke it; which had fuch an Effect upon them, that forgetting their former Fury they quietly retired, and were afterwards honestly paid 1. He was extremely moderate in his Way of Living, eating but one Meal a Day, and that homely and heartily. He despised and hated Drinking; and having settled his Affections on the Woman he married, was a tender and constant Husband through the Course of his Life. As a Father, he shewed more of Passion than in any other Character; for on the Lofs of his fecond Son George in Scotland, he gave Way to his Grief to such a Degree, as surprized all who were acquainted with the Firmness of his Temper in other Respects m. His Valour was very singular, for he was herce without losing his Temper, and had an extraordinary Measure of Patience, joined with boundless Courage; and these Qualities he possessed even in the Decline of Life. In the second Dutch War a Chain-Shot took away his Breeches, yet he never altered his Countenance, or his Place n. In the Chatham Business, apprehending the Dutch would land, he exposed himfelf in the midst of their Cannon-Shot, that his Example might

See Gumble's Life of Monk, which in these Circumstances deferves the more to be depended on, since the Author was a constant Eye-Witness of what he wrote.

Lives English and Foreign, p. 144, where 'tis said, he cut off a Man's Nose, and gave him 10 l. as a Satisfaction.

Skinner and Gumble's Life of Monk.

Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 342. The Duke of Buckingham gives us a much stronger Proof of his Resolution, on his own Knowledge; for he says, the Duke of Albemarle declared at the Beginning of this Action, that he was sure of one Thing viz. that he would not be taken; and that he saw him charge a little Pocket Pistol with Powder, which his Grace believed he would have fired into the Powder Room, in Case the Dutch had boarded him. See his Memoirs prefixed to his Works, p. 6.

keep others to their Duty, and defeat the Design of the Enemy, as it did; and when a Person of Distinction exposulated with him on this Head, and would have perfuaded him to retire, he answered very cooly, Sir, if I had been afraid of Bullets, I should have quitted this Trade of a Soldier long ago . His Cardinal Virtues were Prudence and Modesty: the former enabled him to perform the great Things he did, and the latter restrained him from over-valuing himself on the great Things he had done. He was equally dear to the King, and to the Nation; and it was his peculiar Felicity that he had the Affection of both, without the Jealousy of either. He would have retired immediately after the Restauration, if his Country could have spared him; and when he faw he could not, he ferved it as chearfully as before. He ferved it in many Capacities. He commanded the Army in chief, when the King and the Nation's Safety depended upon that Command. He was put at the Head of a Commission for managing the Treasury, or rather fettling it. His Activity was necessary for suppressing all Infurrections. His Presence was thought requisite in the highest Courts of Justice. If he was entrusted by the King with the Army, he was likewise entrusted by the Duke with the Fleet. He had the Care of the City when vifited with the Plague; the Command of the Navy when we made War with France and Holland at the same Time. He was sent for to re-affure the Minds of the Citizens after the Fire. He was fent to meet the threatening Invalion of the Datch; and as he made Way for the Treasurer Southampton, so on his Death he was thought the only Man who could replace him. Well then might Secretary Nicholas, that able and faithful Servant of the Crown fay, (and he faid it when the Duke had done a few only of these great Things) That independent of his Merit in the Restauration, the Duke of Albemarle by his indefatigable Zeal and successful Services afterwards, had merited more than his Prince could do for him P. Such was the Man whom his Master was not ashamed to call his Father, because indeed he was the Father of his Country 9!

Oumble's Life of Monk. P Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 318. Lord Lansdown's Works, vol. ii. p. 267. The Reader will observe, that Secretary Nicholas was a strict Dependent on the Chancellor Clarendon, who lived at open Variance with the Duke of Albemarle. Lives English and Foreign, p. 188. It was said of him, after his Decease, by the King, that the Duke of Albemarle never over-valued the Services of General Monk. What those Services were, appears in the Preambles to the Patents of the Duke of Albemarle and the Earl of Bath, where the Restauration is ascribed to them by the King himself.

When his Son went to wait upon the King with the Enfigns of the Order of the Garter, his Majesty was pleased to restore them to him. The King likewise directed the Duke's Body to be removed to Somerset House, where it lay for many Weeks in State, and on the 4th of April was removed with great funeral Pomp to Westminster-Abbey, and there interred in Henry the VII. Chapel. Yet, as if his Fame had stood in need of no such Support, a Monument was neglected; only those who have the Care of the Place, preserve his Figure in Wax, and think it sufficient to raise the Admiration of every

loyal Spectator to fay, This is General MONK!

He left behind him an only Son Christopher Duke of Albemarle, to whom both King Charles and King James shewed great Respect. It must be confessed, that he had not his Father's Abilities, either in the Cabinet, or in the Field; but he was a generous good-natured Man, and lessened considerably the great Estate that was left him, by indulging Pleasures his Father despised : yet he had many good Qualities, and particularly that of sheltering and encouraging Merit in Distress. He gave a particular Instance of this in supporting Captain Phipps, afterwards Sir William Phipps, and Governor of New-England. He came over to make a Propofal for fishing on a Wreck on the Coast of Hispaniola, and made the Design appear so probable, that King Charles II. granted him a Ship called The Algier Rose, and furnished him with whatever was thought necessary for the Undertaking; which, however, failed of Success, and Captain Phipps returned as poor and as politive as ever t. He endeavoured to obtain from King James II. (who by this Time was on the Throne) another Ship, but to no Purpose. Afterwards he fet on Foot a Proposal for making it a private Adventure; for which he was at first laughed at, till the Duke of Albemarle engaged in the Defign, and advanced a confiderable Sum of Money towards fitting him out. He quickly compleated the rest, and in the Year 1687, sailed in The Bridgwater Merchant, a Ship of 200 Tons on the same Scheme, proposing a Distribution of the Profits on twenty Shares, into which the Expence of the Undertaking was divided ".

HE was more lucky in his fecond Enterprize, though not till his Patience was almost worn out; and afterwards prosecuted his Design with success, that in a short Space he returned to England with 300,000 l. in Silver. On his Arrival there

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Philips, Kennet, Echard, Skinner, Gumble, &c. Lives English and Foreign, p. 196.

Sir William Phipp's Life, by Increase Mather.

Lives English and Foreign, p. 196.

wanted not some who would have persuaded the King to seize his Ship and Cargo, under Pretence that Captain Phipps had not given an exact Information, when he applied for Licence, and the Royal Affistance: but his Majesty generously answered, that he knew the Captain to be an honest Man, and a Man of Honour; and that if he had brought Home twice as much Treasure, his Proprietors should divide it. His Majesty further expressed his Satisfaction by knighting him . The Duke of Albemarle had for his Share, 90,000 Pounds, and Sir William about 20,000 Pounds x. This Piece of good Fortune is thought to have engaged the Duke of Albemarle to ask King James for the Government of Jamaica, which he obtained: but it it was with a View to reap further Advantages from that or other Wrecks, he was disappointed; for whether it was that the Treasure was exhausted, or that the Ship being broken up, the Sea by degrees diffipated its Contents; certain it is, that nothing of Consequence could afterwards be brought up . His Grace's free Way of Living, especially in regard to the Bottle, rendered that a very unfit Climate for him to live in, and therefore we need not wonder, that he did not long enjoy his Government; but died the Year following without Issue: and so this Noble Family became extinct 2.

Memoirs of Admiral Montague, ofterwards Earl of Sandwich, and Knight of the Garter.

F AME, indubitably belongs most justly to those, who have deserved well of Society; but the highest Degree of Glory ought certainly to wait on the Memory of such illustrious Persons as have been Martyrs for their Country, and died, either to serve, or preserve it. If this be a just Position, as sure it must be allowed by every thinking Man; then the noble Person whose Memoirs are at present to employ our Care, ought ever to be revered by Britons. His Life was an uniform Scene of Patriotism, and public Spirit; his Death so extraordinary a Strain of exalted Courage, that as sew Facts in modern History come near it, so none in more antient and less corrupted Times exceed it.

To speak of the Antiquity, or Nobility of this Family, would here be an idle Waste of Words; the very Name of Montague is sufficient to inform every intelligent Reader of all that I could fay on that Subject. Mr. Edward Montague was the only surviving

w Life of King James II. p. 392. * British Empire in America, vol. i. p. 130. * Sir William Phipps's Life. * British Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 319.

viving Son of Sir Sidney Montague, the youngest of six Sons of Edward Lord Montague of Boughton. He was born July 27, 1625 b, and having received all the Advantages which a liberal Education could bestow, he came very early into the World, and into Business; especially, if we consider the Times in which he lived, and the Qualities necessary for Men to be diffin-

guished in them.

HE married, when little above 17, the Daughter of Mr. Crew, afterwards Lord Crew of Stene ; and being thought more warmly affected to the Cause of the Parliament than his Father Sir Sidney Montague was, who had been expelled his Seat for refusing to take an Oath to live and die with the Earl of Effex, and giving such a Reason for it, as it was easier to punish than answer d, received a Commission dated August 20, 1643, to raile and command a Regiment under the Earl before-mentioned. This Colonel Montague, though but eighteen performed; and the Interest of his Family being very extensive, he took the Field in fix Weeks. He was present at the storming of Lincoln, on the 6th of May, 1644, which was one of the warmest Actions in the War. He was likewise in the Battle of Marfton-Moor, which was fought on the 2d of July, the same Year, where he greatly diffinguished himself; infomuch that soon after, when the City of York demanded to capitulate, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for settling the Articles; which must have been the pure Effects of personal Merit, fince he was then but in his 19th Year We find him the next Year in the Battle of Naseby, and in the Month of July, 1645, he stormed the Town of Bridgwater f. In September, he commanded a Brigade in the Storm of Bristol, where he performed very remarkable Service; and on the 10th of September, 1645, subscribed the Articles of the Capitulation, granted to Prince Rupert, on the Delivery of that important Place to the Parliament &; the News of this, he in Conjunction with Colonel Hammond,

b Peerage of England, vol. ii. ² Warwick's Memoirs, p. 221. d He told the Speaker, " He p. 280. c Ibid. p. 281. "would not swear to live with that Nobleman, because he was an " old Man, and might die before him; nor would he swear to die " with him, fince the Earl was going with an Army against the King, " which he did not know how to free from Treason; and therefore " could not tell, what End that great Man might come to." Warwick's Memoirs, p. 221. The Parliament's expelling this Gentleman merely for declaring his Sentiments, is complained of in one of the King's Declarations as a most Arbitrary Proceeding. Clarendon's History, vol. ii. p. 81. e Rushworth's Historical Collections, f Ibid. vol. vi. p. 56. 8 Ibid. p. 83, 86. vol v. p. 637.

Hammond, was appointed to carry, for which a Thanksgiving was ordered b.

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But after all this warm Service in the Army, at an Age when few People have feen one, he shewed no Inclination to make the Sword the Supreme Power; but when, by the Artifices of their Leaders, the Soldiers declared against the Parliament, and impeached eleven of its most worthy Members, he forbore going to the House, where, though not of Age, he sate as Knight for Huntingdonshire! His Acquaintance, however, with Cromwell, the Court paid him by that artful Man, and his own generous unsuspecting Temper, drew him in to accept a Seat at the Board of Treasury, and into a Share of the Transactions in those Times, with which he was very much distainsfied upon Resection. After the Dutch War was over, he was brought into a Command of the Fleet, and was made Choice of by the Protector, to be joined with Blake, in his Expedition into the Mediterranean k.

ADMIRAL Montague found abundance of Difficulties to struggle with, at the very Entrance on this Affair; many of the Officers being displeased with the Service in which they were to be engaged, and not a few infifting on laying down their Commissions. He managed this intricate Business with great Prudence and Dexterity, so as to shew a due Regard to Discipline, without running into any Acts of Severity: and this had a very happy Effect, fince, by that Time he came to fail, the Fleet was pretty well fettled, and the Officers disposed to act in Obedience to Orders 1. In the Spring of the Year, 1656, we find him in the Mediterranean, where himself, and his Collegue, Blake, meditated great Things. They once thought of attacking the Spanish Fleet in the Harbour of Cadiz; but after attentively confidering the Port, it was refolved in a Council of War, that fuch an Attempt was impracticable. Then Gibraltar was mentioned, as a Place that would be of great Utility, in case it could be taken. Admiral Montague, in a Letter to Secretary Thurloe, gives his Judgment of this Project, with great Sagacity. According to his Sentiments, the only Method of taking that Place, was, to land a Body of Forces on the Isthmus, and thereby cut off the Communication of the Town with the Main; and in this Situation, to make a brifk Attempt upon the Place. Yet as a Proof of the Fallibility of human Understanding, we find in this very Letter, a proposal

Whitlock's Memorials, p. 166.

Peerage of England, vol. ii. p. 282.

Thurloe's State-Papers, vol. iv. p. 443. Clarendon, Whitlock, Philips, Kennet. Echard.

Thurloe's State-Paper's, vol. iv. p. 570, 571, 589, 594.

for fending 5,000 Land-Forces, on the Account of the hafty Disposition of the Seamen, which rendered them unfit to perform any effectual Service on Shore m. When this Place, however, was taken, it was wholly owing to the Vigour and Activity of the Sailors, and to that Impetuofity in particular, which Admiral Montague imagined would be a Hindrance in any

Undertaking of this Kind.

WHEN cruizing before Cadiz appeared to be of no great Advantage, the Fleet stood over to the opposite Shore of Barbary, in order to repress the Insolence of the Tripoli and Sallee-Rovers, which was found no very easy Task; and therefore Admiral Montague could not forbear intimating his Defire, that we should have some good Port in Africa, which he believed might answer various Ends, and especially conduce to the Prefervation of our Trade in the Levant. Hence, I suppose, grew the first Notion of getting Tangier into our Hands, of which a Year or two after there was great Discourse, as well as of the Benefits that would redound to the Nation from the possessing of it; and this in all Probability might recommend the Portugal Match so much to the Favour of the Duke of Albemarle, who it is likely depended therein on the Judgment of Montague. At this Time, however, we find our Admiral more inclined to take that or some other Place from the Portugueze by Force; for he entertained a very bad Opinion of their Sincerity, though at last, the Terror of the English Fleet compelled them to make such a Composition as satisfied the Protector, and disappointed Montague in his favourite Design of attacking their Brazil Fleet ".

THE Warmth he expressed in the Discharge of his Command, did not hinder the Admiral from perceiving the great prejudice done to our Trade, by the carrying on the Spanish War, of which he gives a fair and clear Account in one of his Difpatches to the Secretary, wherein he complains, that he faw the Dutch, Hamburghers, and Genoese, carrying on a mighty Trade with Spain, which, as he observes, it was impossible for them to hinder, without engaging the State in a War with all the World; and therefore proposed, that a Squadron of light Frigates only, might be kept in those Seas, and the Fleet be employed somewhere else to more Advantage . However, the Protector's Orders being positive, they returned towards Autumn into the Road of Cadiz, where in September following,

m Thurloe's State-Papers, vol. v. p. 67, 68, 69. · lbid. p. 170. 194, 195.

Captain Stayner made Prize of the Galleons. A full Account of their Strength, and the Money on board them, Admiral Montague sent into England, as soon as they were taken; and when he afterwards had received Directions to convoy the Prizes Home, he sent another Account of the Silver on board them, desiring at the same Time, that some Persons might be sent down to meet the Fleet at Portsmouth, in order to take Charge of the Silver, and to make a further Search into the Contents of the Galleons?

THE Money taken from the Spaniards was the most popular Act in all Cromwell's Administration, and therefore the utmost Pains was taken to give the People a very high Idea of this Advantage. The Silver was carried in open Carts, and Ammunition-Waggons, through Southwark to the Tower of London; and, to make a shew of Considence in the People, these Waggons had no greater Guard than ten Soldiers q. As for Admiral Montague, he had all the Compliments paid him upon this Occasion, that it was possible to desire; the Protector caressed him exceedingly; the Parliament returned him Thanks by their Speaker; and some other Honours he had received, if with Industry he had not declined them.

In 1657, he was appointed to command the Fleet in the Downs, and went accordingly on board it in the latter End of the Month of July. The Design of this Fleet was to watch the Dutch, to carry on the War with Spain, and facilitate the Enterprize on Dunkirk, and in all these, he did as much as could

P This Letter is directed to Secretary Thurloe, and dated aboard the Naseby, at Sea, off the Lizard, October 22, 1656. In it he fays, " There have been some Miscarriages, by the Ships that did " take the Ships of Spayne; but I shall delay to tell of them here, and "I judge the best Way to improve Mercies of this Kind, is to look " forward: however, it is my Business at this Time. The Silver they brought is on board this Ship, and the Vice Admiral; in the " Admiral, we have five hundred and fifty Sowes of Silver, and Boxes " of Plate, and nine Pieces of Silver not well refined, like Sugar-" Loaves. In the Vice Admiral, there is a hundred and twenty-four " Sowes of Silver, all which we judge may produce near two hun-" dred thousand Pounds: I hope I speak the least, and that it will " make much more. In the Galleons Holds also, there is that Space " between the Main-mast, and the Bulk-Head of the Bread Room, "not yet rummaged." Thurloe's State-Papers, vol. v. p. 509. This appears from a Letter of the Dutch Ambassador Nieuport, to the States-General, dated November 17, N. S. 1656. Thurloe's State-Papers, vol. v. p. 269. Clarendon, Whitlock, Philips, Lord Sandwich's Journal, MS.

be expected from him. Towards the Autumn he thought fit to make a Journey to the Camp of the Marshal de Turenne where he had a Conference with him, as to the properest Method of carrying on the War; and then returned on board the Fleet. which cruised in the Channel till the beginning of Winters. All this Time he seems to have been in the highest Favour with the Protector, and to have had the strictest Intimacy with his Family; and yet the Admiral had Thoughts of retiring from public Bufiness. What the Reason of this was, cannot, at this Distance of Time, be recovered; but in all Probability, the Sense he had of the strange Service he was put upon in affisting the French, and distressing the Trade of all the rest of the World, made him uneasy t. One Thing is remarkable, that, how much soever he disliked the Orders that were sent him, he executed them with the utmost Punctuality; so that the Dutch. whose Ships he searched for Silver, made a heavy Complaint against him ". We may likewife gather from his Letters to Cromwell, and the Instructions he received, that he was not a little embarrassed about the Protector's Designs, and yet it is plain enough, that Cromwell defired that the Admiral should rather regulate Things by his Discretion, than be able to justify himself from the Letter of his Orders; and this particularly appears in the Business of the Flag, upon which the Protector wrote him an Epistle with his own Hand, commanding in express Terms, that he should infift upon the Honour of the Flag from all Nations, within the Limits of the British Seas, and yet telling him as expresly, that he knew not what those Limits were; adding at the same Time, that he was to execute these Orders with Caution, fince Peace and War depended on them w.

AFTER the Death of Oliver and the setting up of Richard, Admiral Montague was made Choice of to command the great Fleet sent to the North; which as it was in itself the wisest and best Measure entered upon in those Times, so the Fleet was beyond Comparison the best that had been sitted out since the Dutch War; and therefore I think myself obliged to give a short Account of it. The Naseby, which was the Ship the Admiral

These Facts are collected from various Letters in the fixth Volume of Thurloe's State-Papers.

We have these Particulars in a very curious Letter from Lord Broghill, to Mr. Montague, dissuading him from retiring Dated from Youghall, November 20, 1657. Thurloe's State-Papers, vol. vi. p. 622.

"Ibid. p. 633. where the Reader may find Cromwell's Letter of five Lines on this Important Subject.

As to the true Grounds of

Admiral failed in, carried 70 Guns and 600 Men, The Refolution had the like number of Men, and 80 Guns. There were of Ships carrying 50 Pieces of Cannon and upwards, 14; twenty-eight 40 Gun Ships or near it; four of 30 Guns, and 12 Ships carrying between eight and 22 Pieces of Cannon, in all 60 Ships, and on board them 11,820 Men 7. The Admiral went on board the Fleet in the Spring of the Year 1659, and on the 7th of April he wrote to the King of Sweden, the King of Denmark, and the Dutch Admiral Opdam, to inform them of the Motives that had induced the Protector, to fend so great a Fleet into the Baltick; and that his Instructions were not to respect the private Advantage of England by making War, but the publick Tranquility of Europe, by engaging the Powers of the

North to enter into an equitable Peace 2.

BEFORE the Admiral failed, the Parliament thought proper to tie him down by very strict Instructions, which left him no real Power, but in Conjunction with their Commissioners Colonel Algernon Sidney, Sir Robert Honeywood, and Mr. Thomas Boon; and at the same Time they took an Occasion to shew they had no great Kindness for him, by giving away his Regiment of Horse; so that we may suppose he lest England in none of the warmest Dispositions for their Service. When he arrived in the Sound, he took his Share with other Ministers in the Negotiation, and made it sufficiently evident, that his Genius was equally capable of shining in the Cabinet, or commanding at Sea, or on Shore. While he was thus employed, King Charles being very well informed as to his Temper, Principles, and frict Conjunction with the Protector's Family, thought this a proper Time (that Family being entirely laid afide) to make a Trial of his Affections; and therefore fent a Person with two Letters, one from himself and the other from Chancellor Hyde, to be delivered to him, if possible, without the Privity of his Collegues. The Scheme was rational, and well laid; but the Messenger very indifferently chosen. He was one whose Loyalty was apt to dance upon his Tongue in those perilous Times, when wife Men kept it close in their Hearts; and it was with some Difficulty that the Admiral preserved him from suffering by his Indifcretion. Yet the Letters and Persuasions of a near Relation

fitting out this Fleet, and the Ends it was intended to answer, consult Clarendon, Whitlock, Ludlow, &c. 7 This Account I take from two Lists in Thurloe's Collection, and from one in MS.

These Letters are in Thurloe's State-Papers, vol. vii. and in Lord Sandwich's Journal.

Thurloe's State-Papers, vol. vii. p. 680, 681.

lation of his, who undertook to state the Merits of the Royal Cause fairly, had such an Effect on Admiral Montague's Mind, that he returned immediately to his Duty, with all that Warmth and Sincerity incident to great Minds, conscious of former failings. The Service the King expected from him was, a speedy Return to England, that the Fleet might be ready to act in Conjunction with Sir George Booth, and other Persons of Distinction, who were disposed to hazard their Lives for the Service of their Country: on weighing which Proposal, Mr. Montague sound it so plausible, that he resolved to run any Hazard rather than not put it into Execution; conceiving that, if this Opportunity was missed, another equally fortunate, might not

happen quickly b.

COLONEL Sidney was a Man of quick Parts, and deep Penetration: he foon discerned some Change in Mr. Montague's Conduct, and pursued his Discoveries so closely, that he missed very little of coming at his whole Secret. The Admiral, obferving his Suspicions, called a Council of War, and therein made a clear and close Speech, in which he shewed them plainly the little Hopes there were of doing any Thing for the Honour of England, by remaining where they were: that to fight they had no Authority; and if they were to remain Neuter, they might as well fail Home. He then laid before them the Accounts he had received from his native Country, of the great Struggles between the Army and the Parliament, whence he took Occasion to hint, that themselves had a great Stake there; and that if a new Government was to be fettled, some respect ought to be had to the Fleet. He concluded with faying, that he readily submitted his Sentiments to a free Debate, and that he was determined to act according to their Judgment: but that one Thing must be noted, Provisions were already become scarce, it was very difficult to obtain Supplies; and therefore, if they resolved to stay, they must resolve also to live at short Allowance. The Question was soon decided, and, in Consequence of the Council's Opinion, Admiral Montague weighed immediately and failed for England . On his Arrival, he found Things in a very unexpected Situation; Sir George Booth in the Tower, the Parliament restored to their Authority, and a warm Charge against himself come to hand from Colonel Sidney. Immediately on his Arrival he fet out for London, attended the Parliament, and gave an Account of his Conduct with so much Wisdom and Eloquence, that even such as disliked it, knew not

b Clarendon's History, p. 723. Memoirs of the Restauration, a MS.

Heath's Chronicle, p. 426.

not what to object, and were, therefore very well fatisfied with dismissing him from his Command; to which Lawson was appointed, a rigid Anabaptist, and one in whom they had the

greatest Confidence d.

AFTER such an Escape, Mr. Montague withdrew to his own Estate, with a Design to enjoy in Privacy and Peace the Remainder of his Life; and this made him concern himself very little, if at all, in the following public Transactions, before Monk's coming into England. After this, when that General shewed a Desire that Admiral Montague should be again restored to his Command, he fent privately to the King for his Approbation, before he would accept it. Having obtained this, he fent his Majesty a List of such Officers in the Fleet as might be confided in, and of fuch as he apprehended must be reduced by Force. He likewise defired to know, whether the King had any Assurance of the General; but was so cautious, as to defire no Notice might be taken to his Excellency how his Inclinations flood . On his coming on board the Fleet, he found Things strangely altered, and Lawson from whom he expected most Opposition, as ready to serve the King as himself: upon which he laid by all Referve, and, as foon as he received the King's Letter directed to himself and General Monk, he sailed with the Fleet to Holland, leaving only two or three Ships to attend the Parliament Commissioners. This was a very warm Testimony of his Affection for the King's Service, and as such was received by his Majesty; but when it was observed that the Parliament Commissioners looked upon it as a Mark of Difrespect, the King was pleased to cover Mr. Montague, by sending him an Order that was antedated. Soon after he had the Honour to convoy his Majesty to England, who, two Days after his landing at Dover, fent Sir Edward Walker, Garter King at Arms, to deliver him his Declaratory Letters, with the Garter and George of the most Noble Order of the Garter, which he presented him on the 28th of May in the Morning, in his Ship then riding in the Downs f.

AMONG the Honours conferred on such as had been particularly instrumental in restoring his Majesty to his just Rights, our Admiral had his Share, and by Letters Patent dated the 12th of July, 1660, he was created Baron Montague of St. Neots in the County of Huntingdon, Viscount Hinchingbrooke in the same

County,

der may find it in Thurloe's State-Papers, vol. vii. p 731. Clarendon's History, 735. Walker's Historical Account of the Knights of the Garter, a MS. p. 104. penes Joh. Anstis Arm.

County, and Earl of Sandwich in Kent, sworn of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council, made Master of the King's Wardrobe, Admiral of the narrow Seas, and Lieutenant-Admiral to the Duke of York, as Lord High Admiral of England. At his Majesty's Coronation his Lordship carried St. Edward's Staff, and was now looked upon as one of the King's principal Ministers, as well as the Person chiesly entrusted with the Care of the Fleet E. He constantly attended the Council, when any Transactions relating to foreign Affairs were under Debate, and always gave his Opinion like a good Subject and a true Patriot. When the Marriage with the Infanta was concluded, he brought her Majesty over, and performed other Services as has been al-

ready shewn h.

His Lordship has been aspersed for joining as is surmised with the Duke of Albemarle in the Project for giving up Dunkirk to the French. I have already mentioned Mr. Echard's Account of this Matter, and his infinuating, that the Earl of Sandwich had spoke of Dunkirk as a Place of no great Importance; which determined the King to part with it 1. But certainly when he wrote this, he was more tender of the Earl of Clarendon's Character than of the Truth; for he could not but know, that the Count d'Estrades, who negotiated the Treaty for the Sale of Dunkirk, charges the whole Transaction upon Clarendon, and represents Albemarle and Sandwich to have been against it k. Burnet fays, all the Military Men were bribed by France; and no doubt includes the Earl of Sandwich amongst them 1. I will take this Opportunity of giving the Reader some further Hints towards a fair Account of this Matter, and of the Share this noble Lord had in it.

THE King being distressed for Money, the Sale of Dunkirk was thought of as a Means to supply him. Upon this a Letter was written from Hampton-Court the 29th of June, 1662, to invite a French Minister over, in order to transact an Affair of great Consequence; but what that Affair was, the Letter did not make appear m. It was some Time before the Count d'Estrades arrived with the King of France's full Power to negotiate this Business. After his Arrival he acquainted his Marter with this Proposal about Dunkirk, and that it was the Chancellor who had made it n. In subsequent Letters he affirms, that

the

Pat. 12 Car. II. Walker's Historical Account of the Knights of the Garter, MS.

h See p. 153.

History of England, p. 801.

k See d'Estrades's Letters, p. 279.

History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 282, of the Dutch Edition, in fix Volumes, 8vo.

m De Estrades's Memoirs, p. 280.

This Letter is dated Aug. 27, 1662.

the King, the Duke of York, and the Chancellor were for it; the Treasurer, the General, and the Admiral against it . This, however, is to be understood of the Sale of Dunkirk to the French; for the Thing was proposed but by Halves at the Council; and at first the Strength and Importance of the Place was talked of: upon which the Earl of Sandwich (who knew it as well as any Man) faid, that the Coast of Dunkirk was generally so tempestuous, and the Ground so rolling upon every Storm, that there never could be any certain Steerage to the Port P. This was the Truth, and nothing more; yet was the Earl far from thinking it ought to be put into the Hands of the French, though he judged it too expensive for his Master to keep; and, therefore, he declared for demolishing it 1. This not being relished, the Duke of Albemarle called for Sir Edward Harley, who told the King plainly, that the Artillery and Military Stores were worth more than the French were to give for the Place; and then it was proposed to annex Dunkirk to the King's Dominions, and fo put the Expence upon the Parliament '. How these Propositions came to be rejected. I cannot fay; but it is plain that, though the Earl of Sandwich did not fet a higher Value upon Dunkirk, than in the Condition it was then in, it deserved; yet he never defired to see it fall into the Hands of the French, as has been very falfly and maliciously asferted.

When the Dutch War began, in 1664, the Earl of Sandwich went heartily into the Measure, as conceiving it for the Honour and Interest of England; and when the Duke of York took upon him the Command of the Fleet as High-Admiral, his Lordship commanded the Blue Squadron, and by his Industry and Care, abundance of the Enemy's Ships were taken, and the best Part of their Bourdeaux Fleet. In the great Battel, fought on the 3d of June, 1665; wherein the Dutch lost their Admiral Opdam, and had eighteen Men of War taken, and fourteen destroyed, a large Share of the Honour of the Victory was justly given to the Conduct of the Earl of Sandwich; who, about Noon, fell, with the Blue Squadron, into the Center of the Enemy's Fleet; and thereby began that Consusion which ended, soon after, in a plain Flight. Most of our Historians

This appears from the French King's Answer to the Letter before cited. P Which is the Expression mentioned by Echard. The French King takes Notice of this in his Answer to Count d'Estrades of August 27. See Landsdown's Vindication of Monk, amongst his Works, vol. ii. p. 144. Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, Echard's History of England, p. 819, 820. Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Lediard.

agree that, if this Victory had been properly purfued, the Dutch Fleet had been totally ruined; and the Neglect of this Advantage is, as I have elsewhere observed, by some charged on the Duke of York: yet Burnet, who pretends to a very particular Knowledge of this Matter, has certainly advanced a direct Falfity about it; fince he affirms, that Brounker carried Orders, as from the Duke to Admiral Penn, to flack Sail, whereas, in Truth, these Orders were carried to Sir John Harman, who was Captain of the Duke's Ship, and unluckily obeyed them ". This destroys all the rest of the Bishop's Story, about a Council of War, and Penn's Opinion therein; that the Dutch were more formidable, and would fight the better for being beat. However, on the Return of the English Navy, and a Report to his Majesty of what had passed at Sea, the King declared the Duke of York should not return to the Command of the Fleet; but that it should be left to the Earl of Sandwich, who was ordered to take Care to put it as speedily as possible in a Condition to return to the Dutch Coast; which he accordingly performed w.

THE Earl of Sandwich failed on the fifth of July, with 60 Men of War to the Coast of Holland, bearing the Royal Standard of England, and having under him the bravest Seamen that perhaps ever bore the English Flags. Finding the Dutch Fleet not at Sea, and having Information that both their East-India and Smyrna Fleets were to return Home North-about, he refolved to steer for the Coast of Norway, in hopes of meeting with them: Nor was this a difficult Thing, fince it was foon after known, that they had taken Shelter in the Port of Berghen z. We have already given some Account of this Action, but referved a more particular Detail for this Place, to which it properly belongs; the rather because the Attempt on the Dutch Fleet in the Harbour of Berghen, was the Occasion of our War with Denmark, which some have ventured to charge on the Earl of Sandwich, as brought about by his ill Management; whereas, in Truth, he did every Thing that could be expected R 2

^{*} Kennet's Compleat History, vol. iii. p. 277, 278. Echard's History of England, p. 820. It is likewise so stated in the Parliamentary Enquiry: But Sir John Harman's Reputation for Courage, was so throughly established, that to have mentioned him, would not so well have answered the Purpose of reslecting on the Duke. * Philips, Kennet, Echard. In the Earl of Clarendon's Speech, as Chancellor, to the Parliament at Oxford, October the 10th, 1665, the keeping the Duke at Home is represented as a Mark of the King's Tenderness for his Royal Highness's Person. * Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Basnage, le Clerc, de Neuville.

from an experienced Officer, and a Man of Honour, as we shall shew in few Words, because our Naval Historians are silent on this Head.

SIR Gilbert Talbet was then Envoy at the Court of Denmark, and he finding a Disposition in that Prince, to fill his Coffers at the Expense of the Dutch, proposed to him, as the most effectual Way of doing it, the seizing of their Fleets in his Harbour, which would indemnify him from all the Losses he complained of, and bring into his Treasury many Millions of Dollars. The King of Denmark readily embraced the Project, and offered only one Objection, which was, his own Want of Force to execute it. Sir Gilbert immediately answered this, by faying, that he did not doubt, but the King of England would furnish him with a Fleet sufficient to make prize of all the Dutch Ships, on Condition that the profit of the Expedition should be divided between them; to which his Danish Majesty readily assented . This Proposal being transmitted to the English Court, was readily closed with, and Advice thereof sent to the Earl of Sandwich. As this was a Transaction very little to the King of Denmark's Honour, so he insisted upon it, that the Agreement should not be put into Writing; and this Piece of Nicety spoiled the whole Affair: For when the Earl of Sandwich had Intelligence of de Ruyter's being come with the East-India Fleet into Berghen, he resolved not to let slip so fair an Opportunity, but to fail thither with the utmost Expedition. He fent, however, Mr. Worden, a Gentleman of Distinction, to Sir Gilbert Talbot, to inform him, that he was determined not to lose the Opportunity of attacking the Dutch Fleet, and therefore defired that he would fend him a diffinct Account of the Nature of the King of Denmark's Engagements, that he might the better know what he was doing. Sir Gilbert took fome Pains to comply with this Request; but by various Accidents they were frustrated, and the Earl of Sandwich arrived in those Seas without hearing any Thing from the Envoy z. Sir Thomas Tyddiman being fent with a stout Squadron to block up the Port of Berghen, appeared before it on the first of August, 1665. The

Denmark, by Sir Gilbert Talbot, MS. This Piece was in the Hands of Bishop Burnet, and of Mr. Echard, who have made Use of it in their Histories. I have likewise consulted another Piece, published by Authority, entitled, A true Deduction of all the Transactions between his Majesty of Great-Britain, and the King of Denmark; which differs in many Respects from Sir Gilbert Talbot's Relation.

2 Sir Gilbert Talbot's Relation before cited.

The first Thing he did, was to fend a Gentleman to the Governor, to inform him of the Design, and to know what Orders he had. To this the Governor answered, that he had none, but that he expected them by the Post in two or three Days; and, therefore, defired the English would defist from making any Attempt for that Time. That Evening, however, the Castle fired upon the English Fleet, and did some Mischief; and the Dutch were suffered to bring 70 Pieces of Cannon on Shore, to fortify their Line. Admiral Tyddiman perceiving this, called a Council of War, wherein he laid the whole Matter before his Officers, who, after a full and free Debate, resolved to lose no Time, but to attack the Dutch Fleet the next Morning; and this for three Reasons: I. Because the Danish Governor had given them no direct Answer, nor had promised them any Sort of Favour or Affistance. II. If the Dutch had further Time given them to fortify themselves, an Attempt might become impracticable. III. That the grand Dutch Fleet was now at Sea, and might probably come in to their Relief a.

THIS Resolution taken, Sir Thomas Tyddiman gave all his Captains Charge, that they should not fire against the Castles or Ports, and should also be very careful to direct a I their Shot low, at the Hulls of the Dutch Ships, to prevent, what they could, any Damage to the Town that lay behind the Ships; both which Directions all the Seamen did unanimously agree were performed, according as, in the Treating with the Governor, all those Directions were promised to be given. The Dispute con inued 'till near eight o'Clock: during which Time, it is true the Castle hung out a white Flag, but to what Intent the English could not guess; for all the Seamen, whose Station was nearest to it, agreed also in this Point, That the Castle never lest firing, from some Quarter or other of it; imagining then, that the Dutchmen, who might have been taken in for the strengthning the Castle, had fired against the General's Orders, during the Time of hanging out the White Flag, as indeed it proved;

for they had at least 300 of them there.

THE greatest Damage that the English received was from the Castle, which, by accidental Shots, cut some Hawsers that kept the first Line together; and so, to avoid running soul on one another, they were forced from their Stations, and when they were out of the Reach of the Dutch Guns, the Fort upon the utmost Point on the Star-board Side, shot at them as fresh, whose Guns the English had silenced during the Engagement, and in R 3

² Deduction of all Transactions between his Majesty of Great-Britain, &c. p. 11.

their going off, had many of their Men killed by them. Notwithstanding which, the English came that Day to anchor within the Rocks of Norway, five Leagues Distance from Berghen, having no Pilots that could shew them Anchoring-Hold nearer,

for fo many Ships together.

WHILE the English were repairing their Ships, the Danish Governor endeavoured to draw them into a new Negotiation, affirming, that now he had received his Master's Orders, and was content to afford them what Affistance he could: but, after mature Deliberation, it was not thought proper to trust to these Promises b; and, therefore, on the last of August, the Earl failed with the rest of his Fleet towards the Coast of Holland; but fuffering much by a Storm, his Ships were carried back again to the Northward, and on the 4th of September, he met with four Dutch East-India Men, and several other of their Merchant-Ships under a good Convoy; and though the stormy Weather favoured their Escape, yet he took eight good Men of War, two of their best East-India Ships, and twenty Sail of their Merchant-Men. Also, on the 9th of September, a Part of our Fleet fell in with eighteen of the Hollanders, the greatest Part of which they took, with four Dutch Men of War, and above a thousand Prisoners c.

On his Return, he was received by the King with distinguished Marks of Favour: but his Royal Highness's Conduct in the great Engagement, on the third of June, being much consured; and the King then declaring the Duke of York should go no more to Sea, and the Earl's Conduct in the same Action, being as much applauded; lest his Continuance in the sole Command

b True Deduction of the Transactions between his Majesty of Great-Britain, &c. p. 11, 12. It must be allowed, that these Facts are contradicted by the MS. Account of Sir Gilbert Talbot, to which both Echard and Burnet have adhered, and consequently lay all the Blame on Sir Thomas Tiddiman and the Earl of Sandwich. But, besides the Deduction's being a public Paper, owned by King Charles II. and confequently more authentic than Sir Gilbert Talbot's Relation; there is in the former, a Copy of the Governor's Letter, which flatly contr dicts the Substance of the same Letter, given in Sir Gilbert's Account, which I take to be, in fact, rather an Apology for his own Conduct. The Truth feems to be, that the Earl of Sandwich confidered this whole Negotiation as a dishonourable Thing; and, indeed, it is very apparent that if no Respect at all had been had to this Agreement, but the English had attacked the Enemy's Fleet without giving them Time to fortify themselves, the whole, or at least the greatest Part, must have been sunk or taken. c Kennet, Burchet, Echard, Columna Rostrata, Rapin.

mand of the Fleet might be any Difadvantage to the Duke, our Affairs in Spain requiring an extraordinary Embaffy, his Maj fty dispatched the Earl of Sandwich to the Court of Madrid, to mediate a Peace between the Crowns of Spain and Portugal d. This Negociation was of equal Difficulty and Importance: We had many Things to alk from Spain, in Favour of our Trade; and there was nothing to which the Spaniards were less inclined than to make Peace with Portugal, and own it for an independent Kingdom: yet the Earl of Sandwich managed this Bufiness with fuch Address, that he concluded a most advantageous Treaty with the Court of Spain, confisting of forty Articles; and this too in a furprifing thort Space of Time, if we confider the Nature of Spanish Negociations; for his Lordship arrived at Madrid on the 28th of May, 1666, and the Treaty was figned on the 13th of May, 1667 : His Lordship then applied himself to the other Part of his Commission, and by infisting principally on the Interests of Spain, and making it evident, that the Continuance of the Portugal War would be the total Ruin of their Affairs, and that a Peace might be made without the least Wound to their Honour, at that Juncture; he so far prevailed, as to gain the Queen of Spain's Consent, that a Treaty should be set on Foot under the Mediation of the Crown of Great-Britain. The Confidence reposed in him upon this Occasion, was managed with fuch Dexterity by the Earl of Sandwich, that in three Weeks after his Arrival at Lisbon, he concluded a Peace between the two Nations, to their mutual Satisfaction. This Treaty was figned the 13th of February, 1668 f, and it was extremely advantageous to the Portugueze (who, confidering the distracted State of their Government, had very little Reason to expect fo fortunate an Event) it was no less honourable to the Crown of Britain.

Upon the Conclusion of these Treaties, the Earl of Sandwich was complimented both by the King and Duke under their Hands, and his great Services are acknowledged in such Terms as they deserved, and which do no less Honour to the Memory of the Princes who wrote them, than they do his to whom they were written. Many of the Letters penned by his Lordship in this Embassy have been made public, and remain so many indelible Marks of his Wisdom, Integrity, and public Spirit. They serve also to shew how unnecessary a Qualification Cunning is in a public Minister, for they are written with a Plainness

d Philips's Chronicle, p. 545. e Kennet's Compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 293. Philips's Chronicle, p. 565. f Pointer's Chronological Historian, vol. i. p. 223.

ness that cannot be counterfeited, and shew in their Composition a Strength of Genius capable of carrying its Point, by fetting Truth in a proper Light, without the Affistance of any of those little Arts fo much admired in modern Politicians. As he was too quick-fighted to be deceived, he had too much Candour to impose on any with whom he transacted; and when this Temper of his was throughly known, he was able to do all Things in Spain; for being well informed of the Nobility of his Birth, and his great Actions at Sea, and having repeated Proofs of his firich Regard to Honour, they readily believed every Thing he faid, and willingly affented to whatever he proposed. After the Conclusion of the Treaty with Portugal, he returned again to Madrid, where he spent some Time in settling Affairs, and confirming that Court in the Opinion that Britain was its most useful and natural Ally, and then taking his Leave, arrived on the 19th of September, 1668, at Portsmouth 2. On his Return to Court he was received with all imaginable Testimonies of Respect by the King and Duke, who were equally sollicitous in fixing him to a good Opinion of those Measures upon which

they were then entering.

THE Plantation-Trade was by this Time become very confiderable, and growing daily more and more advantageous to the Nation, his Majesty was graciously pleased to erect a Council for inspecting Matters relating to Trade, and for the special Encouragement of the Plantations. As this was in itself a very popular Act, fo King Charles, who knew, as well as any Prince, the Art of pleasing his Subjects when he thought fit to practise it, judged it convenient to put at the Head of this new Council, a Man as acceptable in his Character as the Project was in its Nature; and this determined him to the Choice of the Earl of Sandwich, who on the 3d of August, 1670, was sworn President of the Council of Plantations, and in that Quality he swore the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, the Duke of Buckingham, and other Persons of the highest Quality, Members thereof h. this Capacity, as well as in that of Vice-Admiral and Privy-Counsellor, he gave no small Disturbance to the Cabal: For in the first Place, he was a fincere and zealous Protestant; next, he was a true Englishman, loyal to his Prince, but steady in the Cause of his Country, an Enemy alike to Faction and arbitrary Power. He was, besides, for regarding no Qualification but Merit in the Preferments of the Navy, declaring upon all Occasions against shewing Favour to the Relations of Peers, or other

Pointer's Chronological Historian, vol. i. p. 226.

See the Gazette of that Date.

ferved longer or better. This rendered him the Idol of the Fleet, who, after the Death of the Duke of Albemarle, looked upon him as their Father and Protector; which, however, raifed him a great many Enemies amongst such as could not bear the thwarting of their private Interests, though for the Sake of the Public. The secret Histories of those Times (to which I must own I do not always give Credit) infinuate, that his Royal Highness the Duke of York was displeased with him; but, however that might be, it is very certain, that the King had always a just Sense of the Earl of Sandwich's Services, and shewed him upon all Occasions as much Favour and Esteem as he did to

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On the breaking out of the last Dutch War, his Lordship went to Sea with the Duke of York, and commanded the Blue Squadron, the French Admiral Count d'Estrees commanding the White. The Fleet was at Sea in the beginning of the Month of May, and towards the End of that Month came to an Anchor in Southwold Bay, in order to take in Water; there we are told, that on the 27th, which was Whitmonday, there was great Merry-making on board the Fleet, and many Officers and Seamen were permitted to go on Shore, and were at Southwold, Dunwich, and Aldborough. Things being in this Situation, and the Weather withal very hazy, the Earl of Sandwich, who had on board the Admiral, gave it as his Opinion in the Evening, that the Wind standing as it did, the Fleet rode in Danger of being surprized by the Dutch; and, therefore, he thought it adviseable to weigh Anchor and get out to Sea: to this the Duke of York made such an Answer as seemed to hint that the Earl spoke out of Fear; which Infinuation, if it was really made, was certainly barbarous and unjust k. I cannot fay who first reported this Story, but of this we may be positive, that, as a certain Author has reported it, it could not possibly be true 1. Several very judicious Persons have inclined to think that

¹ See Bishop Parker's History of his own Times, p. 151. k Echard's History, 813. Columna Rostrata, p. 217. This Author is Bishop Burnet, who in the History of his own Times, says, "I say "nothing of the Sea-Fight in Solebay, in which de Ruyter had the "Glory of surprizing the English Fleet, when they were thinking "less of engaging the Enemy, than of an extravagant Preparation for the usual Disorders of the 29th of May; which he prevented, engaging them on the 28th."—It is an odd Whim of this Prelate, that because the People might be disposed to be drunk on the 29th, they should be out of their Wits on the 28th. Now the Truth

it was framed long after the Transaction, in order to heighten fome Circumstances which we shall presently relate.

On the 28th of May, between two and three in the Morning, the Fleet was informed of the Approach of the Dutch: upon which his Royal Highness made the Signal for weighing Anchor, and getting to Sea; and the Occasion being of so preffing a Nature, many of the Captains were obliged to cut their Cables. The Blue Squadron, however, was out first, and in good Order; the Red next; and the White in its proper Station, much a-stern m. The Earl of Sandwich in his fine Ship The Royal James, which carried 100 Pieces of Cannon, and about 800 Men, began the Fight, and fell furiously on the Squadron of Van Ghent. This he did, not from a Principle of diftinguishing himself by an Act of heroic Valour, for he knew his Character was too well established to need that : his View was to give the rest of the Fleet Time to Form; and in this he carried his Point. Captain Brakel, in The Great Holland, a 60 Gun Ship, depending on the Affistance of his Squadron, attacked The Royal James, but was foon disabled, as were several other Men of War; and three Fire-ships were sunk. By this Time most of his Men were killed, and the Hull of The Royal James so pierced with Shot, that it was impossible to carry her off. In this Diffress he might have been relieved by his Vice-Admiral Sir Joseph Jordan, if that Gentleman had not been more follicitous

of the Matter was, that the Feasting happened on the 27th, because it was the Monday in Whitsun-Week; but some People have a great Mind to fet a black Mark upon the 29th of May, and on the Character of General Monk for the same Reason. Yet let us once more hear his Lordship--" The Admiral of the Blue Squadron was " burnt by a Fire-Ship, after a long Engagement with a Dutch Ship, " much inferior to him in Strength. In it the Earl of Sandwich " perished, with a great many about him, who would not leave him, " as he would not leave his Ship, by a Piece of obstinate Courage, to which he was provoked by an indecent Reflection the Duke " made on an Advice he had offered, of drawing nearer the Shore; " and avoided an Engagement, as if in that he took more Care of " himself than of the King's Honour." — We have seen above, that the Earl's Advice was to put to Sea, that they might engage the fooner, and not be furprized. The Dutch Gazette treated the Earl's Memory better than this Bishop; for in it we find, " The Earl of Sandwich engaged for feveral Hours with many of our Men of War, " disabled seven of our Ships, among which was Lieutenant-Admiral " Van Ghent's, Vice-Admiral Van Nesse's, and Captain Brakel's; " and after putting off three Fire-Ships, was at last burnt by the m I take this from Mr. Saville's Letter to the Earl of Arlington, then Secretary of State, and published by Authority.

follicitous about affifting the Duke. When therefore he faw him fail by, heedless of the Condition in which he lay, he faid to those who were about him, There is nothing left for us now, but to defend the Ship to the last Man, and those who knew him readily understood, that by the last Man he meant himself. When a fourth Fire-ship had grappled him, he begged his Captain Sir Richard Haddock and all his Servants to get into the Boat and fave themselves; which they did: yet some of the Sailors would not quit the Admiral, but staid and endeavoured at his Command to put out the Fire, which, however, they could not do, and fo they perished together, the Ship blowing up about Noon . The Dutch Writers give a different Account of this Matter; they fay, that the Earl and one of his Sons were fmothered in the Long-Boat, by the Crew jumping in upon them o; which cannot be true, fince the genuine Cause of the Earl's remaining on board was, his Apprehension that he might be taken in the Long-Boat, and be made a Spectacle to the Dutch; the same Thought which occurred to the Duke of Albemarle, and determined him, in case no other Way was left, to blow up his Ship and himself. Such as ascribe this Resolution to the Resentment of what his Royal Highness had said the Evening before, asperse one great Man's Character in order to tarnish another's. It is a strange Pleasure that some People take in attributing the greatest Events to the worst Motives, and always presuming that to be the Spring of a Man's Actions, which feems least fit to be so. In this Case from the Temper of the Person, and the Circumstances attending his Death, there is the highest Reason in the World to presume, that he facrificed himself from a Principle of Public Spirit: why then should we be so inhuman as to fancy he did it from private Pique? The antient Romans would have had nobler Notions: they would have faid he devoted himself to his Country, and merited, by his manner of dying, the Victory which enfued.

His Lordship's Body was found near a Fortnight afterwards, and the King testified, by the Honours he paid to the Corpse, how much he admired the Man, how sensible he was of his hard Fate, and how willing he was to mingle with the Dust of his Ancestors, the Remains of such as died gloriously in their Country's Service. This Fact stands thus in the Gazette.

Harwich,

Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Basnage, de Neuville. page Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. ii. p. 208.

Harwich, June 10.

THIS Day the Body of the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Sandwich, being by the Order upon his Coat difec covered floating on the Sea by one of his Majesty's Ketches, was taken up, and brought into this Port; where Sir Charles Littleton the Governor receiving it, took immediate Care for 66 its embalming and honourable disposing, till his Majesty's Please fure should be known concerning it. For the obtaining of which, his Majesty was attended at Whitehall the next Day, 66 by the Master of the said Vessel, who by Sir Charles Littleton's Order, was sent to present his Majesty with the George 66 found about the Body of the faid Earl, which remained at the Time of its taking up in every Part unblemished, saving 66 some Impressions made by the Fire upon his Face and Breast. "Upon which his Majesty out of his princely Regard to the es great Deservings of the said Earl, and his unexampled Performances in this last Act of his Life, hath resolved to have 66 his Body brought up to London, there at his Charge to receive the Rites of Funeral due to his great Quality and " Merits P."

"THE Earl of Sandwich's Body being taken out of one of " his Majesty's Yatchts at Deptford, on the 3d of July, 1672, " and laid in the most solemn Manner in a sumptuous Barge, or proceeded by Water to Westminster-Bridge, attended by the King's Barges, his Royal Highness the Duke of York's; as also with the several Barges of the Nobility, Lord-Mayor, and the " feveral Companies of the City of London, adorned suitable to the melancholy Occasion, with Trumpets and other Musick, that founded the deepest Notes. On passing by the Tower, the great Guns there were discharged, as well as at Whitehall, and about five o'Clock in the Evening, the Body being taken out of the Barge at Westminster-Bridge, there was a " Procession to the Abbey-Church, with the highest Magnisicence. Eight Earls were Affistant to his Son Edward Earl of Sandwich, chief Mourner, and most of the Nobility and " Persons of Quality in Town gave their Assistance to his "Interment, in the Duke of Albemarle's Vault in the North "Side of King Henry VII's Chapel, where his Remains are " deposited 9."

AFTER this Account of the Respect shewn by his Sovereign, to his dead Body, it may not be amis to subjoin some Instances

of the Tribute paid by illustrious persons to his Memory. will begin with the late Duke of Buckinghamsbire, who having given us an Account of the Battle in Southwold Bay, concludes it thus: " The Enemy had no Success to boast of, except the burning our Royal James; which, having on board her, not only a thousand of our best Men, but the Earl of Sandwich him-" felf, Vice-Admiral of England, was enough almost to style it a Victory on their Side; fince his Merit as to Sea Affairs, was " most extraordinary in all Kinds r." Bishop Parker, after a pompous Detail of this bloody Dispute, proceeds in these Words, "The English lost many Volunteers, and ten Captains of Ships; amongst these were the Earl of Sandwich, and " Digby, Son of the Earl of Briftol; who, almost alone, fought with the third Squadron of the Dutch: yet, at length, when "Digby was shot through the Heart, and the Ship that he commanded was bored through with innumerable Shots, the Seamen with Difficulty brought her into the Harbour; but " Sandwich having miserably shattered seven of their Ships, and beat off three Fire-Ships, at length being over-powered with Numbers, fell a Sacrifice for his Country. A Gentleman " adorned with all the Virtues of Alcibiades, and untainted by any of the Vices; of high Birth; capable of any Bufiness; full of Wildom; a great Commander at Sea and Land, and " also learned and eloquent, affable, liberal and magnificent ." Gerard Brant, who is never partial to any but his own Countrymen, after a full Account of the Valour with which the Earl defended himself, and which he stiles unfortunate Courage, is pleased to say, "Such was the Fate of this Noble Peer, who was "Vice-Admiral of England; a Man equally brave, knowing, " and of a most engaging Behaviour; one who had rendered "his Sovereign the greatest Services, not only in the Field but " in the Cabinet, and as an Ambaffador in Foreign Courts t." Sir Edward Walker, who wrote an Historical Account of the Knights of the Garter, a Work which it were to be wished his Successors in his Office had continued with like Impartiality, gives the Earl of Sandwich this Character, " He was a " Person of extraordinary Parts, Courage, Fidelity, and Affa-" bility, and justly merited all the Honours that were conferred " upon him "."

THESE Testimonies, from Friends and Foes (for the Duke

Parker's History of his own Times, p 151. Vie de Ruyter, Liv. xi. "Historical Account of the Knights of the Garter, MS. before cited.

of Buckinghamshire and the Bishop of Oxford were of a Party not much inclined to favour the Earl of Sandwich; from Strangers as well as his own Countrymen, are incontestable Proofs of this great Man's Abilities, and therefore I was in some Doubt, whether I should add the following poetical Compliment to his Memory; but, when I considered, that it might prove a Hint to some abler Poet, to do Justice to so subject, I thought the Reader would not be displeased with the Sight of Lines which have not hitherto been published.

EPITAPH.

ADorn'd with Titles, but from Virtue great,
At Sea a Neptune, Neftor in the State;
Alike in Council, and in Fight, renown'd,
In Action always, with Success still crown'd;
A Soldier, Seaman, Statesman,—here He lies;
No Heart more honest, and no Head more wise:
Though brave, yet gentle; though sincere, not rude;
Justice in Camps, in Courts he Truth pursu'd.
Living, he rais'd a deathless, spotless Name,
And dying, soar'd above the reach of Fame.

Reader, if English, stop the falling Tear!
Grief should not wait on him who felt no Fear:
He wants not Pity—could his Ashes speak,
These generous Sounds would from the Marble break,
Go serve thy Country, while God spares Thee Breath;
Live, as I liv'd, and so deserve my Death.

We ought next to say somewhat of Prince Rupert, who commanded the English Fleet often, and with great Applause. To run through his memorable Adventures, would take up too much Time, and deviate likewise from the Intention of this Treatise: we shall, therefore, touch briefly those Circumstances of his Conduct, which more immediately relate to his Capacity as a Sea-Officer, and leave his other Actions to the Care of some faithful Historian, who may incline to transmit them to Posterity, in the Manner they deserve: for though it cannot be denied, that this Prince had his Failings, and that these might have some bad Effects on the Affairs of King Charles I. yet it must likewise he confessed, that he did that Monarch great Services, and that his Errors have been much heightened, by the Skill, as well as Partiality, of some who have decried them.

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HE was the third Son of the Prince Elector Palatine, sometime stiled King of Bohemia, by the Princess Elizabeth, eldest Daughter to King James I. and was consequently Nephew to King Charles 1. His Education like that of most German Princes, especially younger Brothers, qualified him for Arms; and fuch as have been least inclined to favour him, admit, that he was extremely well fitted, in respect both to natural Abilities and acquired Accomplishments, for a great Commander w. When the unhappy Civil Wars broke out here, he came and offered his Sword to his Uncle, when he was scarce of Age, and, through the whole War, behaved with great Intrepidity; and on many Occasions his Endeavours were attended with extraordinary Success. When the War was overhe went Abroad with a Pass from the Parliament: but when the Fleet revolted to the Prince of Wales, he readily went on board it, where he distinguished himself by vigorous Councils; which, however, were not followed; but on the Return of the Fleet to Holland, the Command of it was left to him. He then failed to Ireland, where he endeavoured to support the King's finking Cause; but was quickly pursued by the Parliament's superior Fleet, under Popham and Blake, who, in the Winter of the Year 1649, blocked him up in the Haven of Kinfale, whence he escaped, by boldly pushing through their Fleet; an Action as successful in the Event, as brave in the Intention 1.

AFTER this Escape, he sailed to the Coast of Spain, where first he was treated with some Respect; but when it was known that the Parliament had a better Fleet at Sea, and were very intent on suppressing his Highness, the Spaniards became asraid of shewing him any Mark of Favour; and therefore, when two or three of his Ships were distressed, and ran ashore, they plundered them, and pressed the Men into their Service. This we need the less wonder at, if we consider that Captain Young burnt The Antelope, one of the Prince's Ships, in the Harbour of Helvoetsluys, without any Respect to the Authority of the States-General, even in their own Ports; and this, it is said, inclined

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W The fairest Character I have met with of this gallant Prince, is in Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 226, which is transcribed by Echard into his History. The Reader may likewise consult Clarendon, Whitlock, and the other Historians of those Times. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 290, 291. Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Echard. &c. Clarendon's History, p. 595, 596. Where there is a more circumstantial Account of this Fact, than is to be met with any where else.

clined them to a War with England; for observing the Temper of the Parliament, and the Growth of their Naval Power, it was easy for the Dutch to foresee that nothing but a vigorous Refistance could defend their Trade, or preserve them from Subjection. From the Coast of Spain, the Prince sailed to Lisbon, whither he was quickly followed by Blake, with a Squadron of eighteen Sail. We have already given some Account of this Expedition, and of his being at last forced by Blake to leave that Port, and betake himself again to the Mediterranean: and therefore, here I shall only observe, that it was chiefly the Reverence paid to Prince Rupert's Person, that enabled him to keep the Sea with his Squadron, which was now become too small to be called a Fleet. On the 5th of November, 1650, General Blake destroyed The Roe-Buck, and The Black Prince, two of the best Ships he had remaining, while his Highness in The Reformation, and his Brother Prince Maurice in The Convertine or, as other Writers fay, in The Swallow, failed into the Adriatick, Sea, and after taking some Prizes, returned, after Blake's Departure, into the Port of Toulon, where they disposed of them. paid their Sailors, and provided for a more diffant Expedition . It must be observed, that though this kind of Behaviour in Prince Rupert exasperated the Parliament against him, and was in reality, as I have elsewhere owned, a very unjustifiable Practice; yet it was, on the other hand, the Source of the Parliament's Power at Sea, which they would otherwise have scarce thought of maintaining; but finding themselves, on a Sudden, on bad Terms with Spain, embroiled with France, difliked by the Dutch, and at open War with Portugal; they were obliged to cultivate a Naval Force with their utmost Care, in which, as they applied themselves to it with Diligence, it must be admitted they were very fuccessful, and had quickly so many Squadrons well manned at Sea, as made them terrible to all the World *.

PRINCE Rupert's Squadron, in the Spring of the 1651, failed again for the Streights, confishing then of five Men of War, and two Fire-Ships. There he began to take Spanish Ships

Philips's Chronicle, p. 289, Bate, Warwick, &c. Amongst other Inconveniencies following from this Practice, the Prince's Example was no small one. When he condescended to live by privateering, no body was ashamed to take up the Trade, so that from Brest, Guernsey, Jersey, and the Scilly-Islands, there issued whole Fleets of Corsairs. Let the Reader compare what I have observed with Facts from Whitlock, Ludlow, and Carrington's Life of Cromwell, and he will see the Truth of it immediately.

Ships by way of Reprifal, for the Respect they shewed the Parliament; till finding himself hard pressed by Penn, he refolved to follow his Brother into the West-Indies. This Project was owing to the Lord Willoughby's engaging Barbadoes, and the Leeward-Islands to declare for the King, when all other Colonies, except Virginia, had owned the Parliament. This Defign might possibly have proved more successful, if Prince Rupert, on his Arrival in those Parts, had applied himself to the Preservation of the West-India Trade; but instead of this, both he, and Prince Maurice continued to cruize upon the Spaniards, till the latter perished at Sea, and the former found his Ships in fuch a Condition, that it was absolutely necessary for him to return into Europe; which accordingly he did, and in the beginning of 1653, arrived fafely in Britanny, where he disposed of his Prizes, paid his Seamen as far as it would go, and for the present, laid aside his Office as an Admiral b. His Conduct on this Occasion, is very harshly represented by the Earl of Clarendin, who, as he never lived in any great Terms of Friendship with him, might possibly conceive worse of his Pro-This is certain, that the ceedings than they deferved. noble Historian was greatly mistaken in what he says of the Prince's deferting the King's Service, on his going back into Germany; for we have undeniable Testimonies of the contrary, and feveral Letters of his are yet extant, whereby it appears, that he negotiated with feveral Princes of the Empire, on his Majesty's Behalf, and behaved towards him on all Occasions in his Exile (after the Quarrel at Paris) with all the Duty, and Deference that he could have shewn him on the Throne .

On the King's Restauration, Prince Rupert was invited into England, where the King created him Duke of Cumberland, Earl of Holderness, &c. and gave him also various Offices worthy of his High Birth. By this Time, the Prince's Fire was pretty much decayed, and his Judgment cooler and fitter for great Employments, when, therefore, in the Year 1666, the King entrusted him, in Conjunction with the Duke of Albemarle, to command the Fleet, he discovered all the great Qualities that could be desired in an Admiral; for by his hap-

Vol. II.

b Philips's Chronicle, p. 337. Clarendon, Kennet, Echard, Bate, Warwick, &c. c This is very evident from Abundance of Letters in Thurloe's State-Papers, which represent his Highness as a busy Agent for the King; and particularly from a Letter of his to King Charles II. dated Heidelberg, February 6, 1656, vol. i. p. 694.

py Return to the Fleet on the 3d of June, he ravished from the Dutch the only victory they had the Appearance of gaining; and afterwards on the 24th of July, in the same Year, beat them effectually, pursued them to their own Coast, blocked up their Harbours, and made them sensible of the Superiority of English Courage, when not oppressed by Numbersd. In the Autumn of the same Year, having the sole Command of our Fleet, and understanding that the Dutch were endeavouring to join a French Squadron of 40 Sail, under the Duke of Beaufort, he followed them so closely into Boloign Road, that to avoid another Battle, they hauled in fo near the Shore as in all Probability they must either have been burnt or funk, if a sudden Storm had not forced the Prince to return to St. Helen's Bay. But in the mean Time Sir Thomas Allen with his Squadron, fell in with Part of the French Fleet, and used them so roughly, that they were glad to betake themselves to Port, and lay aside all Thoughts of joining their Allies c. On his Highness's Return home, he was kindly received by the King, and grew into great Esteem with the Nation. He always steered evenly between the Factions at Court, and having so near a Relation to the King, thought not of strengthning his Interest by entering into any Intrigues. Yet he never declined any Occasion that offered of shewing himself a firm Protestant, and a true Patriot, though he knew that this Conduct would expose him to some who were never much inclined to be his Friends. But the King, who was obliged to govern too much by Parties, was far from difliking his Coufin's Conduct, fince it gave him an Opportunity of using his Councils, and engaging his Services with the general Approbation of his People; which otherwise he could not have done. In other Respects the Prince was very loyal, and would never be perfuaded, even by fuch as had a great Influence over him, to go into any of those Measures, which, though covered with specious Pretences, served only to diffress the King, and to diffract his Subjects.

AFTER the breaking out of the last Dutch War, and the passing the Test-Act, his Highness was again drawn from his Retirement to take upon him the Command of the Fleet. The Duke of York had resigned his Office of Lord High Admiral; the Earl of Sandwich and most of the old Admirals were dead, so that none could with any Decency be called to that Command but himself. He had never lived on any Terms with

d Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Rapin. Philips's Chronicle, p. 55. f Echard's History of England, p. 893
Burnet's History of his own Times, Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Rapin.

the Ministry, who were stiled, The Cabal, and, indeed, it was impossible he should, for they were all Persons of the utmost Art, and he was the plainest Man that could be. The Method, therefore, they took to rid themselves of a War, which they found it very hard to manage, was, to make such Dispofitions in the Fleet as were fittest to render the Admiral uneasy, from a Prospect that this might bring the Advice of making Peace from other Hands than their own s. All the Captains in the Fleet were the Creatures of the Duke of York, and were told, though perhaps without Truth, that glancing at the Prince's Character would oblige his Royal Highness. There needed no more to fet these Folks to work: they began to find Fault with every Order he gave, and to misrepresent every Measure he took, but the Prince quickly convinced them, that instead of hurting his Character, they would destroy their own b. By his brisk getting out to Sea in the Month of April, he shewed that he could be active in Age as well as Youth, and by failing over to the Dutch Coast, he discovered a Readiness to fight, which was the old Characteristic of an English Admiral. We have already given an Account of the Battle of the 28th of May, 1672, in which we had the Advantage; but it may not be amiss to copy a short Paragraph from the Prince's own Letter, which shews the Modesty of his Nature, and withal his Honour and Impartiality, fince it relates to the Behaviour of one who he knew did not like him. " Sir Edward Spragge also on his Side maintained the Fight with fo much Courage and Refolution, that their whole Body gave Way to such a Degree, that had it or not been for fear of the Shoals, we had driven them into their "Harbours, and the King would have had a better Account of "them. The Case being thus, and the Night approaching, I igudged it fit to stand a little off, and to anchor here where I " now ride" i.

THE next Engagement happened on the 5th of June, in which the Advantage was more plainly on the Side of the English, as is evident from Prince Rupert's Letter, which was immediately published; but after this Engagement, he found the Fleet to be so miserably unprovided of all Necessaries, and, which was worse, so badly manned, that he thought fit to return Home. This Measure, though very necessary, might have been liable to some Misconstruction from Posterity, if by Accident

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See An exact Relation of the Engagements and Actions of his Majesty's Fleet under Prince Rupert.

h Echard, Eurnet, History of the Dutch War.

i This Letter makes a fingle folio Leaf, and is dated at one o'Clock in the Afternoon, on the 29th of May, 1673.

dent we were not furnished with a true Key to it; which was The Prince had often complained before, and the Officers of the Navy had constantly persuaded the King, that there were no Grounds for his Complaints; which put his Highness under the Necessity of taking this Step, that the Thing might be put out of Dispute, and the Fleet out of Wants. As this shewed his Spirit, (for he brought the King himself to look upon the Ships) to he gave afterwards as strong a Proof of his Judgment, by carrying the whole Fleet through The Narrow on the 19th of July, and appearing on the Dutch Coast almost as soon as they had received certain Intelligence of his returning to his own k. On the 11th of August he sought the last Battle that was ever fought with this Enemy; of which we have already given fo full an Account, that, in Respect to the Fact, we can add nothing here. On his Return from his Command, the King expressed some Coolness, which was owing not more to the Arts of his Highness's Enemies, than to the Quickness of his Letter, in relation to the last Fight, and the Behaviour of the French; but the King's Displeasure quickly wore out, as the Interest of

The Office of the Ordnance vindicated themselves notwithstand. ing the King's View: But whoever shall consider that Vindication attentively, will perceive that it is extremely artificial, and calculated rather to screen themselves, than to clear up the Truth of the Fact. The Reader may guess at the Particulars of this Letter, from the following Paragraph of, The exact Relation, &c. in which they are fummed up almost in his own Words. " In the midst of so many In-" trigues of Opposition here at Home, so many Delays of his Com-" mission, so few Powers contained in it, such a scanty Number of " Seamen, so little Assurance of divers chief Commanders, such " Failure of Provisions, such Want of Ammunition and all other " Necessaries, such Deceit of Navy Officers, such Non-observance of " Orders at Sea amongst his own English, and so manifest Defections " of the French; not to be staggered in his Resolution, nor to be put out of all Patience and Prudence in Action, nor to abate of his " Affection and Zeal for the Honour and Service of his Majesty, " the afeguard and Interest of Religion and the Kingdom, in a Sea-" fon when fo many Popish Projectors played a Game under Board, " and above too; will be an everlasting Argument of his Highness's " Valour and Renown, and must needs be a strong Obligation upon " the King, the Parliament and People of England, who are now left " to judge, whether it was not a wonderful good Providence of God, " and one of the most memorable Pieces of Service ever done at Sea, " to surmount all those Difficulties, and even Envy itself; and af er " all, to bring home the Fleet-Royal of England, without the Loss of " one Man of War, to her own Shore in Safety, in Despight of all " Enemies that defigned otherwise by Sea and Land."

the Cabal began to decline. After this the Prince led a quiet, and (in a great Measure) a retired Life, mostly at Windsor-Caftle, of which he was Governor, and spent a great Part of his Time in the Profecution of chymical and philosophical Experiments, as well as the Practice of mechanic Arts, for which he was very famous. He is mentioned by foreign Authors with Applause for his Skill in Painting, and celebrated by one of the most judicious of our own for his Invention of Mezzotinto Prints, fince rifen from their Softness and Beauty into so high Esteem *. He likewise delighted in making Locks for Fire-Arms, and was the Inventor of a Composition called Prince's Metal. As to his public Character in the last ten Years of his Life, it was that of a Patriot, which was owing to the innate Honesty of his Temper, and not to his having any liking to Intrigues. In respect to his private Life he was so just, so beneficent, fo courteous, that his Memory remained dear to all that knew him. This I say of my own Knowledge, having often heard old People in Berksbire speak in Raptures of Prince Rupert. He died at his House in Spring Gardens, on the 20th of November, 1682, in his grand Climacteric leaving behind him a Daughter by Mrs. Margaret Hughes, who afterwards married General Howe, and has not been long dead m.

SIR John Lawfon has been so often mentioned in this Work. that I find myself obliged to give the best Account of him I can; though I must own it to be very slender, in Spight of all the Pains I could take to obtain better Memoirs. He was the Son of a Person in low Circumstances at Hull, and was bred to the Sea, either on Account of his taking a Liking to it, or that it best suited his Father's Situation, who, perhaps, knew not otherwife how to provide for him. In Process of Time he obtained a Ship by his Merit, and ferving in the Fleet under the Parliament, was made a Captain for his extraordinary Desert ". He ferved with great Fidelity against all their Enemies so long as the Parliament retained their Power, and towards the End of the War carried a Flag, together with Penn, under Monk. In 1653, he commanded a Fleet of 44 Sail, which were fent over to the Coast of Holland, and by taking a scarce credible Number of Prizes, had a great Influence in making the Peace. On the Change of the Government, and Cromwell's affuming the supreme Power to himself, he was continued in his Command.

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^{*} Cabinet des Singularitez d'Architecture, &c. Tom. i. p. 177. Evelyn's Calcography, &c.

** Echard's History of England, p. 1023.

** See Whitlock's Memorials, p. 471, 563, 564.

** See Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 466. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 591, 596, 606.

mand, and treated with Respect; but it seems, his Principles did not incline him to act so steadily under the new Government as he did under the old p. As to Church-Affairs, he was an Anabaptist; and in respect to Civil Government, he was a Republican. In all Probability he received these Tinctures early, and like many other People, thought pursuing his own Prejudices to be persevering in a good Cause. He was certainly very honest in his Conduct during the Civil War, acting altogether upon Principle, which led him to dislike the Protector's Government, though not to resist it; for he thought that a Man might lawfully serve his Country under any Authority: and indeed this was Blake's Notion, and that of most of the Sea Officers of those Times.

IT is very certain, that the Protector Oliver had early Intelligence of Lawfon's Disaffection. Colonel Overton, who had plotted against Monk in Scotland, had in some of his Conferences with his Friends mentioned Vice-Admiral Lawfon, as a Person they might be sure of; yet for all this he was employed, and entrusted to command a Fleet for the Channel-Service in 1655 1. But the Spanish War had the same Effect upon him, that it had upon many other Officers; he looked upon it as a flagrant Act of Injustice and Tyranny, and began from that Moment to cabal against the Protector. True it is, that Cromwell had no just Motive for attacking Spain: But the grand Reafon why the Republicans refented this fo warmly was, because the Crown of Spain had made greater Advances to the Parliament than any other foreign Power . There were at the same Time a very formidable Body of Men, who conspired against Cromwell on enthusiastic Principles, and were stiled, Fifth Monarchy-Men. With these, Lawfon, Okey, Rich, and other Officers thought fit to join; because they agreed with them in the Main, and were for pulling down the present Tyranny. Secretary Thurlee, however, had fuch clear Information of all their Proceedings, that they were able to effect nothing. On the contrary, April the 10th, 1657, Major-General Harrison, Admiral Lawson, and several others were committed; which put an End to their Intrigues .

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This appears from several Informations given against him to Thurloe, of which Notice will be afterwards taken. ⁹ This Information to Monk is in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 185, where President Bradshaw, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Col. Pride, Col. Cobbet, Col. Ashfield, and other Officers are named therein. ¹ The Reader may find this Matter largely and clearly explained in a Treatise entitled, The World mistaken in Cromwell, which is reprinted in the first Volume of State-Tracts in the Reign of Charles II. ⁵ Amongst Thurloe's

WHEN he recovered his Liberty, he thought fit to retire, and very probably did not imagine he should be employed again; but upon the first News of the Return of Admiral Montague with his Fleet from the Baltick, the Parliament resolved to have it put into the Hands of one in whom they could confide; and, therefore, sent for Mr. Lawson, declared him Vice-Admiral, gave him the Command of a few Frigates, and ordered him to take the Charge of the whole Fleet on its Arrival t. In his Privacy, he had converfed with some understanding Cavaliers, and came to have a true Notion of the Folly of shifting from one Form of Government to another, and the great Crime of Subverting the Constitution of one's Country, to which an absolute Obedience is due. As foon, therefore, as he heard of General Monk's March into England, he resolved to co-operate with him; and knowing that nothing could be done, but by the Medium of a Parliament, he got the Fleet to declare roundly upon that Head; for which he received their folemn Thanks ". When Monk came to London, and many People doubted what Course he would take, Admiral Lawson said to General Ludlow, That fince the Levite and the Priest had passed by without helping them, he boped they had found a Samaritan who would w. This Ludlow understood in his own Sense; but it was certainly meant in another. He himself understood this afterwards; for he tells us, that when Mr. William Prynne, out of his great Loyalty to the House of Stuart, had given the Clerk, without Order of the House of Commons, a Clause for excepting out of the Bill of Indemnity, such as had taken the Oath for abjuring that Family, in the Council of State; he was feverely reprimanded by Doctor Clarges, Brother to General Monk, because he foresaw that this would affect Admiral Lawfon, to whom the General was previously engaged x. Indeed, as to the Vice-Admiral, he came very early, and very heartily into the Restauration, so that when the Earl of Sandwich acknowledged his Services in this Respect to the King in Holland, he was much carressed, received

Thurloe's State-Papers, vol. vi. p. 184, there is a very large Discourse on this Matter, which seems to have been a Report made to the House of Commons. This is wrong referred to in the Index, where Vice-Admiral Lawson is said to be one of the Fifth Monarchy-Men; whereas from that very Paper it appears, that he was one of a Committee appointed by the discontented Officers in the Army to confer with these Fifth Monarchy-Men; amongst whom was Venner, who afterwards made a desperate Attempt against King Charles II. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 660. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 666. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 693. W. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 821. Ibid vol. iii. p. 24.

the Honour of Knighthood, and was always looked upon as a Man fincerely attached to the Crown; which was confirmed by

all his fucceeding Actions y.

IMMEDIATELY after the Restauration, he was sent as Vice-Admiral to the Earl of Sandwich, when he went to fetch Queen Catherine from Portugal, and was afterwards employed in the Mediterranean against the Algerines, to whom he did considerable Damage, and so effectually blocked up their Port, that they were not able to fend any of their Cruizers abroad. More he might, and certainly would have done, if he had not been disappointed in his Expectation from de Ruyter; who, with his Dutch Squadron, was fent on the fame Errand 2. These Admirals differed about a Salute, which de Ruyter paid Lawson, and Lawfon refused to return, as being bound up by his Instructions: After this, there was no Harmony between them; the Dutch Admiral took the first Opportunity of quitting this Service, and flipping away to Guinea, which was highly refented by King Charles, and alledged as one of the Causes of the Dutch That we may not suppose Sir John Lawson's refusing to War. salute de Ruyter, proceeded either from Pride in him, or from a captious Disposition in those who drew his Instructions, it will be proper to fet this Matter in a true Light. The Dutch, to prevent their faluting English Ships in their own Seas from pasfing for an Acknowledgment of their Sovereignty in those Seas, affected to pay them that Respect wherever they met with them, that so it might appear to be a Compliment to an Ally, and not a Submission to a Superior. The Court of England very well understood this, and therefore at his Departure from the Earl of Sandwich's Fleet, Sir John had Orders not to firike to the Ships of any Prince or State whatever Soon after this Accident, he had Orders fent him to return Home, and to leave the Command of his Squadron to Captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) Allen, who was to finish the War he had begun against the Algerines 2.

On his Arrival in England, he found the Dutch War broke out, and that the King had sent for him in order to serve under his Brother, as Rear-Admiral of the Red. Sir John was very grateful for this Honour; but at the same Time told his Majesty, that he could shew him a more compendious Way of bringing

y See Clarendon, Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Columna Rostrata; and particularly Sir Philip Warwick in his Memoirs, p. 415. ² Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 526, 528. ² Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i, p. 712. Philips's Chronicle, p. 528.

bringing the Dutch to Reason, than by fitting out great Fleets. He observed that, in the last Dutch War, they were more distressed by the Captures he made after the last great Battle, in n they had been by all the Operations of the War; and he added further, that the Reason of this was not hard to find, viz. That they were able, as a State, to fit out great Fleets in less Time, and at much less Expence, than it was possible for his Majesty to do; and their Subjects willingly contributed to this, because they saw the Necessity, and were sensible of the good Effects of it. But if Numbers of their Merchant-Ships were taken, if their Commerce was rendered precarious, and many of their Traders became Beggars; for this they had no Remedy, and that, therefore, this was their tender Part in which they might be hurt, and in which, if they were hurt, they must make a Peace on such Terms as his Majesty should think fit to prescribe. This Advice was rejected at that Time, because his Royal Highness was resolved to go to Sea, and it was not thought to be confiftent with his Honour to stand on the Defensive, and avoid fighting the Dutch Fleet. But after Sir John Lawfon was dead, and the Expence of the War made it burthensome to the King, he began to reflect on the Council he had given him, and refolved to purfue it. But wanting proper Directions in the Execution of this Scheme, and, to fpeak the Truth plainly, having many dishonest Servants, who pretended to have their Ships well-manned, when they had fcarce Sailors enough to manage them b; (for fo the Thing appeared on a Parliamentary Enquiry) this Design, as we have seen elsewhere, miscarried; and yet this Miscarriage remains a Stain on the Memory of Sir John Lawfon, in the Judgment of some Writers c. But to return from these Reflections to our History.

On the 21st of April, 1655, the Duke of York sailed with a grand Fleet to the Coast of Holland, himself carrying the Red Flag, Prince Rupert the White, and the Earl of Sandwich the Blue. His Royal Highness's Vice and Rear Admirals were Penn and Lawson, who both performed all that could be expected from them. Towards the latter End of the Engagement, which happened off Leostoff, on the memorable third of June, that Day twelve Years, in which they had been beat by Monk; Lawson,

b See the History and Proceedings of the House of Commons, printed for Chandler, in which there is a Resolution of the House of Commons, that notwithstanding his Majesty had 18,000 Men in pay, in dispersed Ships, in 1687, there was not a sufficient Number of Ships lest to secure the Rivers Medway and Thames.

See Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 367.

Lawson, after he had exceeded all that he had done before, was, by a Musket-Shot in his Knee, disabled from enjoying that Victory which he had laboured so hard to gain. He did not, however, die, till some Days after, when he had the Satisfaction of knowing, that his Country triumphed, and that, as he had lived, so he died, with Glory. This was the End of Sir John Lawson, a Man who owed all Things to his Merit, and who, after doing so many and great Services to this Nation, wants, for ought that I can learn, a Tomb. The Particulars I have given the Reader, are collected from various Writers, who all agree in this, that he was an able, upright, honest Man d. Sir Philip Warwick says, that he was highly loyal, and another eminent Author, that he was the most experienced Seaman of the Age in which he lived, excepting only one of whom we shall pre-

fently speak f.

SIR John Kempthorne was descended of a good Family in Devonshire, and was born in the Parish of Widscombe, in that County, in the Year 1620. His Father being a Royalist, and in low Circumstances, was glad of an Opportunity of binding him Apprentice to the Captain of a Trading Vessel belonging to Topsbam, with whom he lived very happily for some Years, and being a young Man of good natural Abilities, he attained an extraordinary Degree of Knowledge in his Profession, by which, and by the Favour of his Master, he grew into great Credit with the most eminent Traders in Exeter, in whose Service he made various Voyages into the Mediterranean, with great Profit to them, and no small Reputation to himself 8. In the Beginning of our Wars with Spain, he distinguished himfelf, by a very extraordinary Action. He was attacked by a large Spanish Man of War, commanded by a Knight of Malta; and though the Odds was very great, yet Captain Kempthorne defended himself gallantly, till all his Ammunition was fpent; and then remembring that he had several large Bags of Pieces of Eight on board, he thought they might better ferve to annoy, than enrich the Enemy; and therefore ordered his Men to load their Guns with Silver, which did such Execution on the Spaniards Rigging, that if his own Ship had not been difabled by an unlucky Shot, he had in all Probability got clear.

Echard's History, p. 827. Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Bishop Parker's History of his own Times, &c. c In his Memoirs, p 415. Author of the History of the Dutch War, who says, "In this Bat- tle fell Vice-Admiral Lawson, the most experienced Seaman of the Age, if we except Sir George Ayscue." Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 437.

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taken, and carried into Malaga.

THE Knight to whom he was Prisoner, treated him with the utmost Kindness and Civility, carried him Home to his House, gave him the free Use of it, spoke of him with much Respect. commended his Valour to every Body, and declared, that he never knew a Man who deserved higher Preferment; and after a short Stay in this Manner, which I can scarce call a Confinement, he fent him fafely home to England. It is a great Miffortune that one is obliged to relate such a Passage as this, without the proper Circumstances of Names and Dates; but when these have been slighted by such as at first committed the Fact to writing, they are not afterwards eafily recovered. However, there can be no doubt made as to the Truth of the Relation. fince on the Credit of this Action, Captain Kempthorne laid the Foundation of his subsequent Fortunes. Having premised this, we may proceed to the second Part of this Adventure. Years after, the Knight of Malta was taken in the Streights, by Commodore Ven, and brought Prisoner into England, where he was committed to the Tower. This afforded the Captain an Opportunity of returning all the Civilities he had received, and of procuring his Liberty, which he did, at his own Expence, and furnished him with every Thing necessary to return to Spain: An Action generous and grateful in itself, and which could not fail of doing Captain Kempthorne Honour h.

AFTER the Restauration, Captain Kempthorne had some Merit to plead; his Father having quitted the Profession of the Law. to serve as a Lieutenant of Horse in the King's Army, which proved his Ruin. Whether this, or any personal Interest which his Son might have, brought him into the Navy, it is not eafy to fay; but foon after the King's Return, he was provided with a Ship, viz. The Mary Rose, a third Rate, carrying 48 Guns, and 230 Men. In this Ship he went as Convoy to a confiderable Fleet of Merchant Men into the Streights, and in the Month of December, 1669, met with a Squadron of seven Algerine Men of War; and yet by his Prudence and Courage, he preserved all the Vessels under his Care, and obliged the Enemy to sheer off, after leaving behind them several of their Men, who had boarded The Mary Rose, and were brought by Captain Kempthorne into England i. This gallant Action, justly entitled him to a Flag; and yet it was some Years afterwards out-done, with great Satisfaction to the Captain: For his Son, a young Gentleman

h Remarkable Sea-Deliverances, p. 22.

Relation of this Engagement cited before, p. 187.

Gentleman of three and twenty, in The King's Fisher, a Frigate of 46 Guns, and 220 Men, engaged seven Algerines, three of which carried as many Guns as the whole Squadron that his Father had to deal with; and after many Hours fight, in which he was several Times boarded, made them weary of their Undertaking, and carried the King's Ship safe into a Spanish Port, where himself died of his Wounds *L.

HE was in both the Dutch Wars, and behaved so well, that upon the Duke of Albemarle's taking the Command of the Fleet in 1666, he carried one of the Flags, and in the succeeding War he served as Rear-Admiral, and had the Honour of Knighthood! He spent the latter Part of his Life in a Post both of Profit and Reputation, viz. Commissioner of his Majesty's Navy at Portsmouth: and yet it is said, that he was disgusted (as is frequently the Case) at his being thus laid aside, and precluded, as he understood it, from any farther Promotion in the Navy. We have no Account of the Motives which might induce the Court to flight a Man of Sir John Kempthorne's Merit; only we are told, that he was a very zealous Protestant, and having been chiefly raifed by the Favour of Prince Rupert, it is probable his Interest declined with that of his Highness. However it was, it has been transmitted to Posterity, that his sharp Sense of his Disappointments shortened his Days: and thus a Man who had with such Courage ventured his Life for the Honour of the Crown, and had done fuch fignal Service to the Nation, was facrificed to some pitiful Court-Intrigue, and left to wear away his Life in a little Employment, which would have been esteemed a high Promotion by a Person of another Temper, and who had less Passion for Glory than this worthy Gentleman, who ended his Days on the 19th of October, 1679, when he wanted a Year of Threescore. His Body lies interred on the North Side of the Altar in the great Church at Portsmouth, and I have heard that some of his Posterity are yet remaining in Devonshire ". This Sir John Kempthorne had an elder Brother, Captain Simon Kempthorne, who also distinguished himself at Sea, but of whose Actions I can say nothing particular: I shall therefore content myself with having thus endeavoured to preserve his Name.

THE Care taken by the Dutch to preserve the Memoirs of such as had eminently served the State, by burying them at the public Expence, erecting for them magnificent Tombs adorn-

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k Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 438. Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Echard, of Devon, p. 459.

Philips's Chronicle,
Prince's Worthies

ing these with honourable Inscriptions, settling Pensions on their Family, and by these Acts of Gratitude, obliging all Historians as well as putting it into their Power to relate whatever concerns fuch Persons carefully and distinctly, can never be enough commended. It is indeed one of the greatest Instances of the Wifdom of their Government, fince it supports and encourages public Spirit, maintains the Power, and secures the Reputation of the Republic, which are Things of the highest Consequence to Society, and the Source of that Liberty and Happiness by which they are so gloriously distinguished from their Neighbours. Happy had it been for us, if a like Spirit had prevailed here! I should not then have been obliged to apologize so often for Omissions, which I find it impossible to supply; nor would there have been Occasion for this Remark to excuse the Shortness of these Accounts which I am yet to give of some of the greatest Seamen who lived in this Reign, and who by their gal-lant Behaviour, justly Merit the Praise of succeeding Times.

SIR George Ayscue, as an old Officer in the Navy, was treated very respectfully by the Parliament, which bound him effectually to their Service; fo that when the Fleet revolted to Prince Rupert in 1648, Sir George who commanded The Lyon, brought her into the River of Thames, and declared for the Parliament; which was in itself a very important Service, and was acknowledged to be such at that Time n. Upon this Testimony of his Fidelity, the Parliament gave him a Command in those Ships which were fent over to the Coast of Holland, to observe the Motions of the Prince of Wales o. In March 1649, he was constituted Admiral of the Irish Seas, and in that Office did great Service to the Protestant Interest, furnished Dublin with Provisions, and contributed greatly to the Reduction of the whole Island; which induced the Parliament, as a Mark of their Favour, to make an immediate Provision for his Arrears, and continue him for another Year in his Command P.

WHEN the War began to decline in *Ireland*, and the Parliament had Leisure to think of reducing Places at a greater Distance, Sir George Ayscue had Orders to sail with a sinall Squadron to reduce the Island of Barbadoes; but before he was in any Readiness to sail, his Orders were countermanded. The Reason of this was, the Parliament had received Information, that the Dutch were treating with Sir John Greenville, in order to have the Isles of Sciily put in their Hands; and, therefore it

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Memorials, p. 317. Phillips's Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 740. Heath's Chronicle, p. 176. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 279. P Ibid. p. 381.

was thought necessary to reduce this Island first. Blake and Ayscue were employed in this Expedition, in the Spring of the Year 1651, and performed it with Honour and Success. They had but a small Body of Troops on board, and Sir John Greenwille had a confiderable Force in the Island of St. Mary, commanded by some of the best Officers in the late King's Army; fo that if these had been decided by the Sword, the Dispute must have been both bloody and doubtful. Sir John eafily perceived that this must end fatally, in Respect to him, and the Remains of the King's Forces under his Command; and therefore entered into a Treaty with General Blake and Admiral Aylcue, who used him very honourably, and gave him fair Conditions: after which Blake returned to England, and Ayscue prepared for his Voyage to Barbadoes 9. The Parliament when they first heard of the Reduction of Scilly, were extremely well pleased, as indeed they had Reason, since Privateers from thence did so much Mischief, that scarce any Trade could be carried on with tolerable Security. But when the Conditions were known, fome great Men changed their Opinions, and gave Blake to underfland, that he and his Colleague had been too forward, fo that it was doubtful whether the Parliament would ratify this Agreement. Blake faid, that if they had given Sir John Greenville good Conditions, they had done it with good Reason; that in the first Place it faved the Effusion of English Blood; and next, that there was a strong Squadron of Dutch Ships at no great Distance, the Commander of which had offered Sir John 100,000, to put these Islands into his Hands; that if the Parliament did not approve of his Conduct, he should be forry for it, and would take Care to prevent a Mistake of that fort for the future, by laying down his Commission, as he was confident Sir George Ayscue would likewise do r. Upon this there was no more faid of the Articles, which were honourably complied with, and Sir George received Orders to fail immediately to the West-Indies; which he obeyed.

HE arrived at Barbadoes on the 26th of October, 1651, and became quickly sensible of the Difficulty of that Enterprize. His own Force was very inconsiderable in Comparison of that of the Island; the Governor was a Man of Quality, good Sense, and well beloved, and had affembled a Body of near 5000 Men to oppose him. In Spight of all these Difficulties he was de-

termined

q Clarendon's History, p. 636. Heath's Chronicle, p. 306. Bate's History of the Troubles, &c. r Landsdown's Prose Works. vol. ii. p. 256, 257. Heath's Chronicle, p. 323. Columna Rostrata, p. 98. British Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 18.

termined to do his utmost to reduce the Place, and how well he succeeded, the Reader may learn from the following succinct Relation of General Ludlow. "Sir George opened a Passage into the Harbour, by firing fome great Shot, and then feized " upon twelve of their Ships without Opposition. The next "Morning he fent a Summons to the Lord Willoughby to Subis mit to the Authority of the Parliament of England; but he " not acknowledging any fuch Power, declared his Refolution to keep the Island for the King's Service. But the News of the Defeat of the Scots and their King at Worcester being 66 brought to Sir George Ayscue, together with an intercepted "Letter from the Lady Willoughby, containing the fame Account; he summoned him a second Time, and accompanied 66 his Summons with the Lady's Letter, to affure him of the "Truth of that Report. But the Lord Willoughby, relying upon his Numbers, and the fewness of those that were sent " to reduce him, being in all but fifteen Sail, returned an 46 Answer of the like Substance with the former. Where-" upon Sir George Ayscue sent 200 Men on Shore, commanded " by Captain Morrice, to attack a Quarter of the Enemies that 66 lay by the Harbour, which they executed successfully by taking the Fort, and about forty Prisoners, with four Pieces of "Cannon, which they nailed up, and returned on board « again.

"At this Time the Virginia-Fleet arriving at Barbadoes, it was thought fit to fend a third Summons to the Lord Willloughby; but finding that neither this, nor the Declaration fent to them by the Commissioners of Parliament to the same Purpose, produced any Effect, Sir George Ayscue landed 700 Men from his own and the Virginia-Fleet, giving the Command of them to the same Captain Morrice, who fell upon 1300 of the Enemy's Foot, and three Troops of their Horse, and beat them from their Works, killing many of their Men, and taking about 100 Prisoners, with all their Guns. The Loss on our Side was inconsiderable, sew of ours being killed upon the Place, and not above thirty wounded. Yet these Successes were not sufficient to accomplish the Work, there being above 5000 Horse and Foot in the Island, and our Virginia-Fleet preparing to depart for Want of Provi-

"In this Conjunction, Colonel Muddiford, who commanded a Regiment in the Island, by the Means of a Friend that he had in our Fleet, made his Terms, and declared for the Parliament. Many of his Friends following his Example,

" did the like, and in Conjunction with him, encamped under

the Protection of our Fleet. Upon this, the most Part of the 66 Island were inclined to join us; but the Lord Willoughby pree vented them, by placing Guards on all the Avenues to our ⁶⁶ Camp, and defigned to charge our Men with his Body of "Horse, wherein he was much superior to them, had not a « Cannon-Ball, that was fired at random, beat open the Door of a Room where he and his Council of War were fitting; which taking off the Head of the Centinel who was placed at the Door, so alarmed them all, that he changed his Design. and retreated to a Place two Miles distant from the Harbour. Our Party confifting of 2000 Foot and 100 Horse advancing towards him, he defired to treat; which being accepted, Co-66 lonel Muddiford, Colonel Collyton, Mr. Searl and Captain Pack, were appointed Commissioners by Sir George Ayscue; and by the Lord Willoughby, Sir Richard Pierce, Mr. Charles " Pym, Colonel Ellis, and Major Byham. By these it was concluded, that the Islands of Nevis, Antigua, and St. Christoof pher's should be surrendered to the Parliament of England: that the Lord Willoughby, Colonel Walrond, and some others, 66 should be restored to their Estates; and that the Inhabitants of the faid Isles should be maintained in the quiet Enjoyes ment of what they possessed, on Condition to do nothing to the Prejudice of the Commonwealth. This News being brought to Virginia, they submitted also, where one Mr. George Ludlow, a Relation of mine, served the Parliament in the like manner as Colonel Muddiford had done at Barbadoes t." SIR George Ayscue returned to Plymouth on the 25th of May, 1652, with great Reputation ". The Dutch War was now very warm, and Sir George was forced to take a Share therein, though his Ships were extremely foul with fo long a Voyage, and in a manner unfit for Service. Yet when General Blake failed to the North, he performed incredible Things; for in July he took five Dutch Merchant-Men, and afterwards attacked a Fleet of 40 Sail, under the Convoy of four Men of War, took seven, burnt three, and forced the rest on the French Shore. On the 16th of August, 1652, the Dutch attempted to surprize Sir George with a great Fleet, who was just then returned from convoying a rich Fleet of East-India Ships into Plymouth. Though he was much inferior

Ludlow's Memoirs, &c. vol. i. p. 387.

"In Lilly's Astrological Predictions for 1653, we have this Account of what passed in the preceding Year "May 25, Sir George Ayscue Knight, returned fase from the Western Islands to Plymouth, to the great Joy of the People, having reduced all the Western Isles, and taken from the Dutch above 40 Sail of Ships." Whitlock's Memoirs, p. 534, Heath's Chronicle, &c.

inferior in Strength, he fought notwithstanding; and at last, yet with considerable Loss, he forced them to retire w. After this he acted vigorously against the Enemy, and though his Services were not very well received by the Parliament, yet both the Seamen and the People agreed that he had acted like a Hero, of which we have a strong Testimony in Lilly's Alma-

nack, which was a kind of Oracle in those Days x.

In some short Time after this, the Parliament thought fit to confider Sir George's Services, and to vote him a Reward of 300 Pounds a Year in Ireland, and three hundred Pounds in Money; but withal, they thought proper to lay him afide, under Pretence that the Honour of the Nation was some way affected by the Loss he had suffered in the late Fight in Dover-Road: but this was a mere Pretence; for not only our own Historians, but the Dutch Writers also agree, that never any Man behaved better than he did upon that Occasion: and so far was the Honour of the Nation from being at all wounded by any Loss he sustained, that this very Action was then, and still is, confidered as one of the strongest Proofs of the invincible Courage of the English at Sea v. Nay, immediately before he was dismissed from his Command, he gave a most extraordinary Proof of his Courage; for he protested against Blake's Retreat, after he had been worsted in the Battle of the 29th of November, and declared, he thought it more honourable to perish at Sea, than to retire in the Sight of an Enemy: and upon this Occasion, he intimated a Defign of throwing up, which gave his Enemies an Opportunity of taking away his Commission 2. The true Grounds of the Parliament's Displeasure towards him, though they did not care to own it, was the fair Agreement he had made with the Lord Willoughby of Barbadoes, and the Largeness of those Articles of Capitulation which he had granted him. They thought

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w Whitlock's Memorials, p. 539, 540, 541. This Passage occurs in his Observations on August, 1653, and runs thus. "August 16, 1652, Sir George Ayscue near Plymouth, with sourteen or sifteen Ships only, sought threescore Sail of Dutch Men of War, had thirty Shot in the Hull of his own Ship. Twenty Merchant (I suppose Merchant-Men converted into) Men of War, never came in to assist him: yet he made the Dutch give way. Why our State shall pay those Ships that sought not, we of the People know not. This is He that is a Gentleman, lives like a Gentleman, and acts the Part of a generous Commander in all his Actions. Heath's Chronicle, p. 323. Columna Rostrata, p. 101. Bate's Troubles in England, pt. ii. p. 175. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i, p. 260. le Clerc, de Neuville, &c. Columna Rostrata, p. 101.

he might have been sufficiently cautioned by the Resentment they had shewn on the Treaty he made with Sir John Greenville, and were therefore the more deeply touched with this second Offence 2. Another Reason for their inclining to lay him down softly, was his great Instuence over the Seamen, by whom he was exceedingly beloved. In this Transaction, they were too wise for themselves; for they parted with a Man who was certainly firm to their Interests; disobliged the Sea Officers, who knew not what to think of such a Proceeding, and lost the Affections of the Sailors, as appeared very soon after, when General Gromwell turned them out of Doors, the whole Fleet concurring in the Approbation of that Measure; which shews how dangerous a Thing it is to sacrifice a Man of known Merit to secret Distrusts b.

AFTER this, the Admiral led a retired Life, without concerning himself with public Affairs. The Grant he had of an Estate in Ireland, induced him to go over thither in 1655, where he had frequent Conferences with Henry Cromwell, who then governed that Kingdom, and who had so great an Esteem for him, that he wrote expresly to Secretary Thurles, to take his Advice about a certain Matter of Moment, then in Agitation, and in any Thing else which required the Opinion of a very knowing and experienced Person . Yet it does not appear that he was ever employed in the Protector's Service; for I find him, in 1656, at his Seat in Surry, which is thus described by Whitlock. "The House stands environed with Ponds, Motes, and "Water, like a Ship at Sea; a Fancy the fitter for the Ma-" fter's Humour, who was himself so great a Seaman. There, " he faid, he had cast Anchor, and intended to spend the rest of his Life in private Retirement 4". He changed his Refolution, however, for which, if I mistake not, this Visit laid a Foundation; fince Whitlock went in Company with the Swedish Ambassador, and Sir George was afterwards prevailed upon to quit his Retreat, to go over to Sweden, where he was to be Admiral.

This Scheme of fending him into the North, was one of the last formed by the Protector Oliver. He had always kept a close Correspondence with Charles Gustavus King of Sweden, from

^a Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.

b See the Postscript to Lilly's Almanack, for 1654.

This Letter is printed amongst Thurloe's State-Papers, vol. iv. p. 198.

d Whitlock's Memorials, p. 649.

where there is a long Account of a very curious Conversation on Maritime Affairs, between the Ambassador and the Admiral.

Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 260.

from the Time that Prince mounted the Throne, and drew many Advantages from this Conjunction. He saw, therefore, with great Regret, the Success of the Dutch in settling the Affairs of the North, and their awing his Ally, the King of Sweden, by keeping a strong Fleet in the Baltic. He had his Reasons for avoiding a second War with the Dutch, and yet he could not think of abandoning the Swedes f. At last, therefore, he took a Refolution of fending a frout Squadron wellmanned, under the Command of Sir George Ayscue, who was to enter the Swediff Service; by which Stroke of Policy, the Protector thought he should avoid all Disputes with Holland, and yet do as much for the Swedes as they could defire 8. But this Squadron failing too late in the Year, the Ice prevented its Arrival at Copenhagen: however Admiral Ayscue continued his Journey to Sweden by Land, and was received with great Marks of Favour by his Swedift Majesty, with whom he continued to the Time of that Monarch's Death, which happened in the Beginning of the Year 1660 b; fo that Sir George Ayscue had no manner of Concern in the last Troubles in England.

HE returned Home foon after the Restauration, and was received with all the Respect due to a Man of his Rank and Merit. When the *Dutch* War broke out, in 1664, he went to Sea as Rear-Admiral of the *Blue* Squadron, and behaved with great Honour in the Battle of the third of June, 1665. On

f Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 545. where there is a better Account of Cromwell's Designs, than I have found in any of our own Historians.

B How much the News of this Project alarmed the Danes, will appear from the following Letter of their Minister to Secretary Thurloe, dated September 27, 1658, when in Profecution of Oliver's Design, Richard had resolved to send Ayscue to Sweden.

May it please your Lordship,

"Talk has been this many Months, that Sir George Ayscue, and ten or twelve Sea-Captains were to take Service under the King of Sweden, which I could not be induced to believe, thinking the faid Ayscue would not turn a mercenary Soldier of another Prince, whilft the War in his own Country lasted; if he could not be satisfied with that Wealth and Honour he has gotten, and live a retired and quiet Life. But I have been deceived in my Opinion, and find, that certainly he and the said Captains are to depart in a few Days; they to command each a Man of War, and Sir George the whole Swedish Fleet." Thurloe's State-Papers, vol. vii. p. 412.

Histoire de Swede, par Pussendorf, Tom. iii. p. 30. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 677, 698. Burchet's Naval History, p. 397.

*Echard's History of England, p. 820.

the Duke of York's Return to Court, and the Earl of Sandwich's hoisting the Royal Flag, Sir George Ayscue served as Vice-Admiral of the Red, and was very fortunate in making Prizes k. In 1666, when Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle commanded, Sir George Asscue, in The Royal Prince, the largest and heaviest Ship in the Fleet, bore the White Flag, as Admiral of that Squadron, having, Sir William Berkley for his Vice Admiral, and Sir John Harman for his Rear-Admiral. In the famous Battle on the first of June, he did remarkable Service not only against the Enemy, but in the Preservation of such of the English Ships as were disabled by their superior Force. With the same successful Diligence he acted the two next Days; but towards the Evening of the third, when Prince Rupert appeared with the Frigates under his Command, and a Signal was made for the Fleet to join, Sir George Ayscue's Ship unfortunately ran upon The Galloper, and could not be got off. There, beaten by the Waves, surrounded by his Enemies, and unaffisted by his Friends, he was, as the Dutch Writers themselves confess, compelled by his own Seamen to strike; upon which, the Dutch took them on board, and finding it impossible to bring off The Royal Prince, set her on Fire !. This Capture of Sir George Ayscue, gave the Enemy great Satisfaction: they carried him from Place to Place, by way of Triumph, and at last shut him up in the Castle of Louvestein, where he continued for some Months m, and after this, he went no more to Sea, but spent the Remainder of his Days in Quiet.

S R Edward Spragge was a Gentleman of great Abilities in the Cabinet, as well as at Sea, and as much diffinguished by his Prudence in advising, as by his Activity in executing, in which he was second to none. We find him a Captain, in the first Engagement with the Dutch, after the Restauration, on the 3d of June, 1665, wherein he behaved with great Reputation, and so far recommended himself to the Favour of the Duke of York, that upon his Majesty's visiting the Navy, and going on board The Royal Charles, he received the Honour of Knighthood is which encouraged him to expose himself still more freely. He was likewise in the four Days Battle in June, 1666, where he was particularly taken Notice of by the Duke of Albemarle, and in the succeeding Battle, which was fought on the 24th of July,

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k Burchet, p. 398. Columna Rostrata, p. 166. Lediard. Lechard's History of England, p. 830. Burchet, p. 399, gives an Account of this Battle; but takes no Notice of the Loss of The Royal Prince. Columna Rostrata, p. 172. Basnage, le Clerc, de Neuville. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 776. Echard's History of England, p. 831.

he carried a Flag under Sir Jeremiab Smith, Admiral of the Blue Squadron, who engaged Tromp, shattered his Vice-Admiral, so that she was absolutely disabled; and having ruined the Rigging of his Rear-Admiral, and killed its Commander, contributed greatly to the Glory of that Day o. He diffinguished himself likewise, in the Close of that War, in the unlucky Business at Chatham, where he was employed to defend the Fort of Sheerness, attacked by the Enemy on the 10th of June, 1667, and tho' it was unfinished, his Garison very small, and the Place in no State of Defence; yet he continued to defend himself, till it would have been an Act of Rashness to expose his Garison any longer. When he found how impracticable it was to do any effectual Service by Land, he fet himself to collect as great a Force as he could by Sea. This amounted to no more than five Frigates, seventeen Fire-Ships, and some Tenders; and yet when the Dutch Admiral Van Nes come up the River again, after their Attempt upon Harwich, Sir Edward Spragge engaged him about the Hope. The Fight was very unequal; but there being at first little or no Wind, Sir Edward laid hold of that Advantage, and by dexteroufly towing his Ships burnt eleven or twelve of their Fire Ships, with fix of his own; but the Wind stiffning, he was at last obliged to shelter himself from the Enemy's unequal Force, under the Cannon of Tilbury-Fort. The next Day the Weather being favourable, he attacked the Dutch again in his Turn, and by the happy Management of his Fireships, put them into fuch Confusion, that after a short Dispute, they were forced to retire, and to burn their last Fire-Ship to prevent her being taken. On the 25th they profecuted their Retreat; but with Sir Edward Spragge's Squadron of Fire-Ships in their Rear. He followed them to the River's Mouth, where they met another Squadron of Fire-Ships from Harwich, which put them in fuch Danger, that above a hundred Men in the Vice-Admiral of Zealand, and another large Man of War, leaped over-board, and were drowned. This was the last Action on our Side in that War P.

In 1669, the Constable of Castile being appointed Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, Sir Edward Spragge was sent over to compliment him upon that Occasion, and to enter into some further Negotiations for the Service of the new Measures in which Sir Edward is said to have been deeply engaged 4. The Truth

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Columna Rostrata p. 179.

Philips's Chronicle, p. 561.
Burchet, Echard, Columna Rostrata, Basnage le Clerc, de Neuville.

Echard's History of England, p. 857. Rapin, Oldmixon's History of the Stuart's.

is, he was raised by the Favour, and supported by the Friendship, of the Duke of York, so that he engaged wholly in his Service, and was thought to have a large Share in his Confidence, Some have reported, that he was a Papist; of which there is little Probability, since we find him sent to Sea with Prince Rupert, in 1673, when the Test had driven the Duke of York, and others of his Religion, from their Posts. This Advancement of Spragge, I mention here only to obviate the Objection to him on the Score of Religion; for before I speak of his Behaviour in the last Dutch War, I must take Notice of his Employment in the Mediterranean, after his Return from

his Negotiation in Flanders.

THERE had been several Admirals to chastize the Algerines, both by the English and Dutch; but very few of them had been able to affect any great Matter. They, generally speaking, contented themselves with some slight Action, to the Prejudice of these Corfairs, and then concluded a Peace; which was usually broken by that time they with their Squadrons were returned Home. The Consideration of this, together with the loud Complaints of the Merchants, induced the Court to fix upon Sir Edward Spragge to command a Squadron in those Seas, in hopes of his meeting with better Success than his Predecessors, from his known Courage and Resolution; for it is confessed by the Writers of those Times, that Sir Edward greatly resembled the Earl of Sandwich, and concealed like him a high and daring Spirit, under the most polished Behaviour. He sailed from England on this Expedition in the Spring of the Year 1671, with five Frigates and three Fire-ships, and there might be as many more Ships in those Seas; so that in all, his Fleet consisted of about twelve Sail. In the latter End of the Month of April, he had Intelligence that there were feveral Algerine Men of War in Bugia Bay; on which he called a Council of War, when it was resolved, that he ought immediately to attack them. In Pursuance of this Resolution he sailed thither, but in his Passage had the Misfortune to have The Eagle Fire-Ship disabled by a Storm; and foon after one of his Ships springing her Main-Mast, was obliged to bear away for the Christian Shore. Sir Edward. however persisted in his Design, resitted The Eagle, and bore into the Bay of Bugia with a brisk Gale, not doubting that he **fhould**

r History of the Dutch War, p. 45. An exact Relation of the Actions of his Majesty's Fleet, under Prince Rupert, &c. p. 5. Secret History of the Reigns of King Charles II. and King James II. Kennet, Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Basnage, le Clerc, de Neuville, Vie de Ruyter, &c.

should be able to fire the Ships: but by that Time they got within half Shot of the Caftle and Forts, it fell a dead Calm; and when the Wind rose again, it proved contrary. On the 2d of May they were able to do nothing for the same Reason, the Wind changing every half Hour; upon which Sir Edward resolved to make an Attempt upon them in the Night with his Boats, and the smallest of his Fire-Ships, which rowed as well as a Long-Boat. About twelve o'Clock that Night he executed his Project, fending in all his Boats and The Eagle Fire-Ship, under the Command of his eldest Lieutenant Mr. Nugent. But the Night proving very dark, and the high Land obscuring the Ships as they drew near them, they passed by, and Lieutenant Nugent leaving one of the Boats with the Fireship's, besides her own, rowed in to discover the Enemy, leaving Orders with the Captain of the Fireship, to come to an Anchor in case he found shoal Water. The Lieutenant had not left him a Minute before he perceived himself within Pistol-shot of the Ships, and concluding the Business now as good as done, steered off again to find the Fire-Ship, and to his Amazement faw her all in Flames. The Enemy taking the Alarm at this, the Lieutenant was forced to row off with his Boats; and so this fair Opportunity was lost of burning the Algerine Men of War without the Loss of a Man. The next Day the Enemy unrigged all their Ships, and made a strong Boom with their Yards, Top-Mafts, and Cables, buoyed up with Casks, for which they had all the Opportunity in the World, the Wind hindering the English from doing any thing; and to try the Admiral's Patience to the utmost, it so fell out that, by a drunken Gunner's firing a Pistol, his other little Fire-Ship was lost; so that he had none now left but The Little Victory, which drew too much Water to enter that Part of the Bay where the Algerines lay.

On Monday the 8th of May, 1671, there appeared a confiderable Body of Horse and Foot in the Neighbourhood of the Bay, which were soon after discovered to be an Escort to a very large Convoy of Ammunition sent from Algiers to the Ships, on the safe Arrival of which they fired all their Cannon, to testify their Joy. Sir Edward Spragge considering this, and not knowing what suture Reinforcements they might receive, resolved to take the first Opportunity of making his utmost Esfort; and in order thereto, directed The Victory to be lightned so as that she might not draw above eight Foot. About Noon there sprung up a fine Breeze to the East, upon which the Admiral gave the Signal for the Men of War to draw into a Line, and bear up in the Bay. Immediately after this the Wind sunk at

once, so that they despaired of doing any Thing. But about Two the Gale fprung up again, and the Ships bore in as they were directed. The Admiral came to an Anchor in 4 Fathom Water, close under their Castle Walls, which fired upon him continually for two Hours. In this Space he fent in his own Pinnace, and those of The Mary and The Dragon. These cut the Boom, though not without confiderable Loss. Lieutenant Pin, who commanded The Mary's Boat's Crew, had eight wounded with himself; Lieutenant Pierce of The Dragon was also wounded with 10 of his Men, and one killed. In the Admiral's own Pinnace there were feven killed, and all the rest wounded, except Mr. Harman who commanded it. The Boom being cut, the Fire-ship went in, and getting up athwart their Bowsprits, their Ships being a-Ground, and fast to the Castles, she burnt very well, and destroyed them all. Captain Harris who commanded her, his Mafter's Mate, Gunner, and one of his Seamen were desperately wounded with small Shot, and this at their Entrance; fo that probably the whole Defign had proved abortive, if the Admiral had not with great Prudence commissioned Henry Williams, (then one of his Mafter's Mates, but who had formerly commanded The Roje Fire-Ship,) to take the Charge of the Vessel in case the other was disabled; which he did accordingly, and performed all that could be expected from him. This Loss was irreparable to the Algerines, who had picked out the seven Men of War here burnt, on Purpose to fight Sir Edward Spragge, and furnished them with their best Brass Ordnance from on Board all the rest of their Vessels, with 18 or 1900 chosen Men double officered, under the Command of Old Terky their Admiral, of whom, between three and four hundred were loft, the Castles and Town miserably torn, and, a vast Number of People in them killed and wounded; and which much increased their Misery all their Surgeon's Chests were burnt on board their Ships, fo that Numbers died for want of having their Wounds dreffed. Besides the Men of War (of which we shall give a List) there were burnt a Genoese Ship, a fmall English Prize, and a Settee.

An exact LIST of the Algier Ships burnt in Eugia, with their Number of Guns and Age. May 8, 1671.

Ships Names	Commanders	Guns.	Years old.
The White Horse	Tabark Rays.	34	4
The Orange Tree The Three Cypress Tre	esCaram Hamme	-34	 4
			The

on

Ships Names	Commanders.	Guns	Years old.
The Three Half Moons	Braybam Tagri	n28-	2
The Pearl			
The Golden Crown	-Halua Tagrin	-24	
The Ha'f Moon	-Hammett	-24-	<u> </u>

In this Engagement Sir Edward Spragge had only 17 killed, and 41 wounded; which makes the Victory still more extraordinary, and is a very sull Proof how necessary a steady and constant, as well as brisk and active Courage is in an Officer who bears supreme Command at Sea t. What the Consequences were of this Action, and how well Sir Edward by his Wisdom improved the Advantage that had been gained by his Arms, we have already seen and shall therefore not repeat it here, but proceed to his Conduct in the last Dutch War, in which he re-

markably diffinguished himself.

AFTER having performed with Honour the Business for which he was fent into the Mediterranean, he returned in the Beginning of the Year 1672, with the Squadron under his Command. The Dutch War was then meditated by our Court; but had not as yet broke out. Sir Robert Holmes, who had been the principal Instrument in bringing on the first Dutch War, had been employed also to begin this, by attacking the smyrna Fleet which was then expected home. On the 12th of January ir Edward Spragge met Sir Robert Holmes's Squadron near the Isle of Wight, and upon Sir Robert's enquiring News, Sir Edward very frankly told him, that he had failed several Days with the Dutch Smyrna Fleet, that in a Day or two's Time they might be certainly expected. Sir Robert Holmes was very well pleafed with this News, but took great Care to fay nothing that might give him the least Intimation of his having any Orders to attack them, though if he had so done, and required Sir Edward's Affiftance, he could not poffibly have failed of taking or deftroying that whole Fleet, reckoned worth a Million and half; and

t I take this Account of Sir Edward Spragge's Expedition first from his Instructions, published in the Memoirs of English Affairs chiefly Naval, p. 200, which Instructions are dated at Richmond the 14th of June, 1670, and several other Papers in the same Book. Secondly, From Sir Edward's own Letter, dated May 11, 1671, and published by Authority, under the Title of, A true and persect Relation of the happy Success and Victory obtained against the Turks of Algier at Bugia, by his Majesty's Fleet in the Mediterranean, under the Command of Sir Edward Spragge, &c. Printed in the Savoy, by Thomas Newcomb, 1671.

"See p. 187, 188.

on the taking of which the King depended, for a Supply towards carrying on the War. But Sir Robert, averse to sharing any Part of the Reputation that might be acquired by this Action, used his utmost Diligence that no Body should have any Part in the Execution of it but himself, in which, however, he had no Success; and as this blasted his Reputation with the World, so it produced a Quarrel between him and Sir Edward Spragge,

which could never afterwards be composed ".

WHEN his Royal Highness the Duke of York had resolved to take upon him the Command of the English Navy in the fame Year, Sir Edward Spragge was chiefly depended on for affembling the Fleet, and preparing all Things for the Reception of his Highness, as I find by an Order directed to him as Commander in chief of his Majesty's Fleet on June 15, 1672 *; and he performed his Part so well, that by the End of the Month all Things were ready, and his Highness was invited on board, who joined him soon after, together with the Earl of Sandwich, and other Persons of Distinction. He was present in Solebay Fight the 28th of May, and distinguished himself therein by finking a Dutch Ship of 60 Guns. During the rest of that Campaign, he behaved with his accustomed Diligence, and returned with great Reputation after it was over; which very probably determined the Court to employ him (as they did) the next Year.

WHEN the Duke of York was obliged to part with his Command, and the Court, to gratify the Defire of the Nation, lay under a Necessity of making use of Prince Rupert, they took Care to secure the Fleet notwithstanding, by employing such Officers as they could best, and his Highness least, trust. Sir Edward Spragge was to carry the Blue Flag instead of Sir Robert Holmes, whom his Highness proposed; and, because there had been a Difference between these Admirals, the Court thought fit to lay Holmes entirely aside, though he was a very active Man, and had been much in their Confidence y. Before the Fleet put to Sea, Sir Edward was sent with the Character of Envoy Extraordinary to France, where he was received with all possible Respect, was exceedingly carressed during his Stay, and at his taking Leave had a Present made him of great Value. His Bufiness was to renew the Treaty with that Court, to settle the

Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 555. of the Dutch Edition. True Account of the Actions of the Fleet under Prince Rupert. History of the Dutch War. * Memoirs of the Royal Navy, p. 246.

Y True Account of the Actions of the Fleet under Prince Rupert, &c. p. 5.

the Rules that were to be observed on the Junction of the French and English Fleets, and to restore the old Friendship between the Courts, which feemed to be formewhat injured by the late Proceedings in England 2. As no Part of Sir Edward Spragge's Negotiation or Instructions was ever communicated to Prince Rupert, it gave him fresh Grounds of Dislike; so that when Sir Edward came to hoist his Flag, there was a great Coolness between them a. This did not hinder our Admiral's doing his Duty very gallantly in the Engagement, which happened on the 28th of May, wherein he fought Tromp feven Hours, forced him to go from The Golden Lion into The Prince on Horschack, and thence into The Amsterdam, from that into The Comet, where he had certainly either been killed or taken, if he had not been relieved by de Ruyter b. Sir Edward also twice changed his Ship. These Circumstances are not taken Notice of in the Account which was published after Sir Edward's Death; but in Prince Rupert's Letter to the Earl of Arlington, the Matter (notwithstanding the Quarrel betwixt them) is very fairly stated. " Sir Edward Spragge, fays his Highness, did on his Side main-" tain the Fight with so much Courage and Resolution, that " their whole Body gave Way to fuch a Degree, that had it not 66 been for Fear of the Shoals, we had driven them into their " Harbours, and the King would have had a better Account of " them "." In the Battel of the 4th of June, Sir Edward is blamed for coming, just before the Engagement began, fix Miles in his Boat to receive his Highness's Orders d: However, after he returned, he behaved with great Resolution, forced Van Tromp, with whom he was again to contend, twice to change his Ship, and would inevitably have either taken or destroyed him, if he had not been relieved by the Admiral. The Hazard that he ran, provoked him so against Vice-Admiral Sweers, that he accused him to The States-General. Prince Rupert, in his Letter, takes no Notice of Sir Edward Spragge's Behaviour at all, and though it is very certain, that he had the Advantage of Tromp in this Action; yet even that is concealed by an Author, who pretends to more than ordinary Knowledge of all that passed. The Dutch Writers confess his Bravery, and own

^{**}Rennet, Echard, Columna Rostrata, Oldmixon, Rapin. **True Account of the Actions of the Fleet under Prince Rupert, p. 9. **Bassage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. ii. p. 411. Vie de Ruyter, p. 565. **See that Letter printed by Authority, and dated from on board The Royal Charles, cff the Oyster-Bank, May 29, 1673. **True Account of the Actions of the Fleet, under Prince Rupert, p. 10, 11.

he pushed them hard; and Tromp in his Letter to The States, says, that he was forced to retreat a little before it was dark.

In the third Battle, which happened on the 11th of August, Sir Edward Spragge, with the Blue Squadron, was in the Rear, where it is faid, that notwithstanding he had promited Prince Rupert not to part from his Side, yet being provoked by Tromp, he laid his fore-top Sail to the Mast to stay for him; and having engaged his Squadron, continued fighting for many Hours, at a Distance from the Fleet. Sir Edward was at first on board The Royal Prince, and Tromp in The Golden Lyon; but after a Dispute of about three Hours, in which the Dutch Admiral avoided coming to a close Fight, Sir Edward's Ship was so disabled, that he was forced to go on board The St. George, as Tromp did on board The Comet. Then the Fight began again with greater Fury than before. At last, The St. George was fo battered, that Sir Edward thought fit to leave her, and to endeavour to go on board The Royal Charles; but before his Boat had rowed ten times its own Length from The St. George, it was pierced by a Cannon-Shot; upon which, the Crew endeavoured to get back again; but, before that could be effected, Sir Edward was drowned; his Hands taking so dead a Hold on the Side of the Boat, that when it came to float, he was found with his Head and Shoulders above Water f.

This End had the brave Sir Edward Spragge, who thereby made good what he promised the King, when he took Leave of him, that he would bring him Van Tromp alive or dead, or lose his own Life in the Attempt 5. These Admirals, indeed, seem to have had a particular Desire, each to overcome the other; for they had constantly sought in every Battle from the Time that Sir Edward Spragge succeeded the Earl of Sandwich, and Van Tromp came again to command the Dutch Fleet in the Room of Van Ghendt. The Dutch Writers speak of his Death with visible Regret, and own, that he was one of the bravest Men, and best Commanders that ever sought at Sea. Our own Writers are profuse in the Praises they bestow on his Valour, and therefore I shall content myself with citing only one Testimony in his Favour; which shall be that of Bishop Parker, who

often cited, who had himself a Command in the Fleet. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. ii. p. 415. Le Clerc, Tom. ii. p. 241. Vie de Ruyter, p. 498. f An exact Relation of the Actions of the Fleet under Prince Rupert, &c. p. 14—21. Basnage Annales, des Provinces Unies, vol. ii. p. 420. De Neuville, vol. iv. p. 204. Vie de Ruyter, p. 574. Echard's History of England, p. 894.

describes the last Scene of his Life thus. "There was a re-" markable Fight between Spragge and Tromp; for these having mutually agreed to attack each other, not out of Hatred, but a Thirst of Glory; they engaged with all the Rage, or as it were, with all the Sport of War. They came so close to one another, that like an Army of Foot, they fought at once " with their Guns and Swords. Almost at every Turn, both their Ships, though not funk, were yet bored through, their "Cannon being discharged within common Gun-shot: Neither "did our Ball fall in vain into the Sea; but each Ship pierced the other, as if they had fought with Spears. But at length, " three or four Ships being shattered, as Spragge was passing in " a Long-boat from one Ship to another, the Boat was overturned by a chance Shot, and that great Man not being " skilled in swimming, was drowned, to the great Grief of his " generous Enemy, who, after the Death of Spragge, could " hardly hope to find an Enemy equal to himself. But thus it " happened, that when that brave Man had overcome fo many Country being now victorious and fafe, no "Honour remained for him to receive, but the Reward of a " glorious Death "."

THESE were the great Men who carried the Glory of the English Arms so high, and who effectually supported the Honour of the Flag. If the Reader misses the Memoirs of some whose Actions are mentioned in the History, it is, because they belong to another Place, in Confequence of their having furvived this Reign, and that unfortunate one which succeeded it. But, these are the Heroes to whom were owing our principal Victories, which raifed our Reputation fo high, extended our Commerce so far, and might have brought us much greater Advantages, if our domestic Divisions had not in some Meafure frustrated their Labours, and defeated our Expectations from those Naval Successes, which all hazarded and many laid down their Lives to purchase. A memorable Misfortune this, and which we ought never to forget, if we defire to avoid feeling the Effects of so wretched a Conduct, with a short Explication of which, as a necessary Comment on what has been already faid, we shall conclude this Chapter.

THE two Dutch Wars were very disagreeable to a great Part

h Bishop Parker's History of his own Times, p. 157. The same Prelate in another Part of his History, tells us, that Sir Edward Spragge was a Person, the Love and Delight of all Men, as well for his noble Courage, as the gentle Sweetness of his Temper, p. 126.

of the Nation, through an Apprehension of their Consequences. and therefore the great Exploits performed by our Seamen, and the Advantages gained by the last Peace, which has secured us from any subsequent Quarrels with that Nation, were not looked upon in the Light they deserved; but such as did their Duty, and acted vigorously in their Stations, were disliked, and treated as the servile Creatures of a Court, ready to attempt any Thing for which they received Orders. This was certainly very injurious Usage, and such as must have contributed to fink the Spirits of many. The true Merit of a Soldier, or Seaman, certainly confifts in executing vigorously the Order he receives: and Things are carried too far when we pretend to make them accountable for those Orders; because, if this Maxim should be once established, such Consequences must inevitably flow from it, as would be far more detrimental to Society, than the affording a certain Measure of Applause, to such gallant Actions as might be performed upon wrong Principles. Of this, I might give a flagrant Inflance, by referring to a certain History, where Sir Robert Holmes is severely censured for doing what a Council of War directed; and some Persons who had been attainted by Parliament, are justified, and commended for affishing the Dutch to invade this Nation, and to destroy our Ships at Chatham; which is a Doctrine of a very dangerous Nature, and directly contrary to that true public Spirit which ought to influence all Men, and all Parties; to bear whatever may be required of them for their Country's Good, and to forbear avenging themfelves upon her, whatever Provocations they may receive.

AFTER having pointed out this Error on one Side, I shall with equal Freedom, lay open a greater on the other: I mean the Court's too great Regard for France, which was highly detrimental to the Trade of these Nations, and had well nigh been the Destruction of our Navy. It is a monstrous Thing to affert, and yet there are too ftrong Proofs of this Truth for us to avoid faying, that the Administration in the latter Part of King Charles's Reign, from the Time his Notions had a wrong Turn given them by the CABAL, favoured too much the French Schemes, for the Advancement of their Commerce to the Prejudice of ours; in doing which they iffued fuch Orders to the Officers of the Navy, as made them justiy obnoxious to Parliament, though very able Men in their Places, and thereby created such an Alteration in the Management of Things, as added the Ruin of our Shipping, to the Hurt done our Trade: Whereas, if the Court had acted honeftly, and the Nation been of one Mind, we might certainly have given Law to Europe, and become the

greatest Maritime Power the World ever faw.

We lost these Advantages then, and the Sense of this ought to be of Service to us now. The Fleet, at the Death of King Charles II. was recovering indeed, but very slowly. It is Time to see how a Prince, who took Care of nothing else, prosecuted that Work with Diligence, and raised our Navy to a better State than it was ever in before.

CHAP. V.

The Naval History of GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of King James II. Containing an Account of the Methods made use of for restoring and improving the Fleet; their Success, and the King's Disappointment in his Endeavours to prevent an Invasion from Holland.

They ascended their Thrones, than King James II. and few, ever sustained a greater Load of Trouble asterwards. He succeeded his Brother the 6th of February, 1685, with the general Acclamations of his Subjects, who expected great Things from a King, who came to the Throne with such Advantages. He was then turned of sifty-one, had good natural Parts, improved and strengthned both by Education and Experience; inclined to and very diligent in Business; a good Oeconomist: in fine, a Prince, who, if he had managed public Affairs with the same Ease and Dexterity which he shewed in the Conduct of his private Concerns, his Reign must have been as happy and glorious, as it proved troublesome and unfortunate.

It was his great Foible, that he was constantly influenced by foreign Councils, which is a Thing the English Nation cannot endure; and indeed, it is impossible they should; for as our Constitution differs from the Constitutions of all the States upon the Continent, it is simply impracticable to govern us well, by any other System of Politics than our own. King James knew this well enough; and yet his Fondness for the Popish Religion, threw him into the Arms of France, and engaged him, while a Subject, to act as a Tool; when a King, to rule as a Vice-Roy to Lewis XIV. and this at a Juncture, when if he had been of the Religion of his Fathers, and had complied with the Desires of his People, he might have given Law to that haughty Monarch, and been esteemed the Deliverer of Europe. His Bigotry blinded him; some of his Ministers abused

his Confidence; 'till by a Series of bad Management, he made his Affairs desperate, and lost the Affections of his People, which soon lost him all.

YET, as wrong as his Conduct was in almost every other Particular, the Care he took of Naval Affairs, deserves to be transmitted to Posterity with just Applause. He had long experienced the Office of Lord High-Admiral, in the Reign of his Brother, and understood it throughly; he knew too the Disorders which had crept into the whole Oeconomy of the Fleet, in the fix Years immediately preceding his Accession, and he was well acquainted besides, with the Difficulties the late King had found in discovering and applying Remedies to these Mischiefs. As foon, therefore, as he was feated on the Throne, he began to confider how a total Reformation might be wrought, and the Affairs of the Navy be not only set right for the present, but also be put into such a settled Course, as that they might not fuddenly go wrong again. With this View he confulted Mr. Pepys, and some other considerable Persons, on whose Abilities and Integrity he could depend, and having learned from them what was necessary to be done to bring about the Ends at which he aimed, he first assigned a stated Fund of 400,000 l. a Year, payable quarterly out of the Treasury, for the Service of the Navy, and then issued a special Commission for settling all Things relating to it, and for putting the Management thereof into such a Method, as might need few or no Alterations in fucceeding Times.

THIS Commission was the wisest Act of his whole Reign, and answered very effectually all that was, or indeed could be, expected from it. It was grounded, as to Form, on a Commisfion which had iffued for the same Purpose in the Reign of his Grandfather, of which we have taken Notice more than once. As the then Commissioners of the Navy were Men of fair Character, though they had been fo unlucky in the Management of their Office, the King would not remove them, but caused their Names to be inferted in this Commission, which superfeded their own, with the Addition of a few old Servants, though new Commissioners, on whose Skill and Vigilance he depended. The old Commissioners were the Lord Viscount Falkland, Sir John Tippets, Sir Richard Haddock, Sir Phineas Pett, Sir John Narborough, Mr. Southerne, Sir Richard Beach, Sir John Godwin. The new ones, Sir Anthony Deane, Sir John Berry, Mr. Hewer, and Mr. St. Michael. This Commission was dated the 17th of April, 1686, and by it the Commissioners were directed to enquire into, and remedy all the Disorders that were in the Navy, to restore it in every Respect to good Order, and from Time to Time to report the Proceedings to his Majesty and the Privy Council, as they were particularly enjoined in that Commission i.

THE Commissioners vested with these Powers lost no Time, but fell immediately on a diligent Inspection into the State of the Navy, enquired strictly into the Causes of past Miscarriages, with Respect rather to Things than Men, and taking such Meafures for the immediate Remedy of the Mischief they discovered, that the old Ships were perfectly repaired; the new ones, where they wanted it, altered and mended; the Yards properly supplied with the ablest Workmen; all the Storehouses filled with whatever was requifite bought at the best Hand, and in all Respects the best in their Kind; the Estimates brought into proper Order, and the whole Oeconomy of the Navy reduced into fo clear a Method, that it was impossible any Officer could be ignorant of, or mistake in his Duty, the public Service suffer in any of its various Branches, or the King run any Hazard of being cheated without an immediate Discovery of the Offender. That all this might more fully and indisputably appear (besides the Reports directed by the Commission being duly made) the Commissioners engaged his Majesty to visit in Person the Yards, Docks, Storehouses, &c. which, considering his perfect Acquaintance with Naval Affairs, made it impossible he should be deceived; and then having demonstrated the Justice of their Conduct.

The whole of this Account is taken from Mr. Pepys's Memoirs relating to the State of the Royal Navy of England, wherein he tells us, that the following Qualifications were chiefly confidered in the Choice of the new Commissioners, pursuant to a Memorial addressed by him to the King, and drawn by his Master's Direction, viz.

to the King, and drawn by his Master's Direction, viz. " I. A practised Knowledge in every Part of the Works and Me-" thods of Your Navy, both at the Board and in Your Yards. The " not discerning of which (and the others that follow) appears to have " cost Your Royal Brother and You within the forementioned five "Years, above half a Million. II. A general Mastery in the Business " and Accounts, though more particularly those incident to the Af-" fairs of Your Navy. III. Vigour of Mind, joined with approved "Industry, Zeal, and personal Aptness for Labour. IV. 'An entire " Refignation of themselves, and their whole Time to this Your Ser-" vice, without Liableness to Avocation from other Business or Plea-V. Lastly, Such Credit with Your Majesty for Integrity and " Loyalty, as may (with the former Conditions) lead both Yourself " and my Lord Treasurer, to an entire Confidence of having all done " that can be morally expected from them, in the Advancement of "Your Service, and the circumspect and orderly dispensing and im-" proving of Your Treasure,"

Conduct, by leaving the Navy much encreased, in perfect Order, and with Sea-Stores valued at 400,000 l. they laid down their Posts, their Commission being superseded with a just Approbation of their Conduct, by Letters Patent under the Great-Seal, Ottober 12, 1688. Thus in little more than two Years Time this great Reform was made, all the Officers of the Navy in general paid to a Farthing, and a Saving made to the Public of 307,570 l. 95. 4 d. and this for the inconsiderable Expence

of 6000 l. paid to the new Commissioners.

WHILE this Commission subsisted, the King issued new Instructions to the Officers commanding his Ships of War, these are dated the 15th of July, 1686, and are extremely well calculated for promoting the public Service, fecuring Discipline, and preferving proper Memorials of every Man's particular Merit, by obliging all Captains and superior Officers, to deposite a perfect Copy of their Journals with the Secretary of the Admiralty. As many Things in these Regulations might seem to bear hard upon Commanders, and to deprive them of those Emoluments which their Predecessors had enjoyed, his Majesty was graciously pleased to grant them very considerable Favours. fuch as a fettled Allowance for their Tables k, several Advantages in respect to Prizes, &c. and in the Close, the King was pleased to promise to take special Notice of, and amply to reward, every Instance of Courage, Care or Diligence in any of his Officers, upon proper Attestations deposited with the Secretary of the Admiralty.

WE need not wonder that in Consequence of so great Attention, the British Fleet was in very good Order when King James had the first Notice of the Prince of Orange's Design; but we may be justly surprized at the strange Management of Maritime Assairs from that Time. A Squadron of Ships was indeed

k The Reader may form a proper Conception of the Importance of this Regulation, by confidering the following Table, which shews the Proportion maintained in this new Allowance, so as to make it a just Equivalent for the Perquisites taken away by this Instruction.

Rate.	Present	Wages.	Present	Vie	tualling.	Additional for his		
	I.	s.	I.	s.	d.	I.	s.	
						250		
						—— 200 —— 166	-	•
4-	136	10	12	3	4	124		
5-						- 100		

indeed ordered to Sea under the Command of Sir Roger Strickland, then Rear-Admiral of England, who was, perhaps, the most impreper Man in the World to command them, on account of his being obnoxious to the Seamen, by the Readiness he had shewn in bringing Priests on board the Fleet. His Squadron was ordered to the Downs very indifferently manned, and when he complained of it, and defired to have Soldiers at least fent on board; this was very flowly done, confidering the Importance of the Service. By his Instructions he was to have remained in the Downs; but conceiving that to be a very improper Station for the Service he was to perform, after confulting with the Captains in whom he could best confide, he certified as much to the Court, and offered it as his Opinion, that it would be better for the Fleet to remain at the Buoy of the Gun-Fleet near Harwich. The King, as foon as he received this Advice, fent for Lord Dartmouth, Sir John Berry, Captain John Clements, the three elder Brothers of The Trinity-House, at Deptford, and Mr. Pepys, to whom he communicated Sir Roger Strickland's Letter, and in Consequence of their joint Advice, sent the Admiral Orders to go out of the Downs with the first Easterly Wind, and place himself between the North Sand-Head, and the Kentish Knock, there to continue under Sail in the Day Time, and at Anchor in the Night, in order to observe the Dutch Fleet, and to gain the best Intelligence of them he could, in pursuance of the Instructions then sent him 1.

WHEN the Danger appeared more clearly, this Fleet was ordered to retire to the Buoy in the Nore; and Lord Dartmouth was ordered to Sea, with fuch a Reinforcement as made the whole Fleet under his Command, confift of 40 Men of War, of which 38 were of the Line of Battle, and 18 Fire-Ships. This Fleet being at the Gun-Fleet, and ready in all Respects to fail, a Council of War was called, wherein Sir William Jenings, who commanded a third Rate, proposed to put to Sea, and stand over to the Dutch Coasts, as the shortest and surest Way to prevent an Invasion. This Proposition, however, was rejected by a great Majority, and so it was resolved to continue there, the true Ground of this, as Mr. Secretary Burchet fairly tells us, was the fecret Resolution of the greatest Part of the Captains to hinder the Admiral, in case he had come up with the Dutch Fleet, from doing them much Damage; and thus it appears how ineffectual Fleets and Armies are when Princes have loft the Confidence of those who serve in or command them.

U 2

Burchet's Naval History, p. 411. Kennet's Compleat History of England, Echard, Rapin, &c.

IT may not now be amiss to cast our Eyes over to Holland, in order to confider the Force preparing there for this Invasion. His Highness the Prince of Orange had about his Person abundance of English Noblemen and Gentlemen, particularly the Earls of Shrewsbury and Macclesfield, the Lords Mordaunt, Wiltsbire, Pawlet, Elan, and Dumblain, Admiral Herbert, Mr. Herbert, Colonel Sidney, Mr. Ruffel, Sir Rowland Gwyn, Major Wildman, Dr. Burnet, Mr. Harbord, Mr. Ferguson, and befides the general Officers of the States, the Marshal Schomberg, Count Charles, his Son, Mr. Caillemotte, younger Son to the Marquis of Rouvigne, and 2 or 300 French Refugees. The Fleet that was to carry these consisted of about 50 Sail, most of them third or fourth Rates, and the Transports were about 500. These with 25 Fire-ships made up the whole Navy; the Land Forces embarked were 4000 Horse and Dragoons, and 10,000 Foot. It was very remarkable, that though all the Captains of these Vessels were Dutch, yet the chief Command was given to Admiral Herbert, who very lately commanded the English Fleet; and this with a View either to engage Ships to come over; or at least to encourage the Seamen to desert. In order to do this more effectually, Herbert first addressed a Letter to his Countrymen in the Sea Service, and then stood with the Dutch Fleet over to the Downs, in order to look on the English Squadron, and try what Effects his Exhortations had produced. At that Time his Success did not promise much, and after a Fortnight's cruizing, he returned to the Dutch Coasts, with a better Opinion of the King's Fleet, and a worse of his own, than when he failed. But for all this, his Epistle did almost as much Service as the Force he commanded; for though the Defertion was inconsiderable, yet by Degrees the Sailors lost their Spirits, and their Officers began to cabal, and to confult, not how they should execute the Orders they had received, but how they might best fecure the Fleet.

On the 19th of October, 1688, the Prince went on board, and the whole Fleet failed that Night; but the next Day the Wind turning North, and then fettling in the North-West, it was found impossible to struggle with it; and therefore, on the 21st the Fleet returned, after having been rudely handled by a Storm. On the first of November the Fleet sailed again. The Prince intended to have gone Northwards, and to have landed in the Mouth of the Humber; but a strong East-Wind rendered this impracticable, and seemed to direct them to a better Course. His Highness then sailed Westward, the same Wind which brought him to the English Coast keeping in the King's Ships

Ships, though they were come down so low as the Gun. Fleet. There in a foggy Day they passed the English Navy undiscerned, except a sew Transports which sailed in Sight, while the English. Fleet rode with their Yards and Top-Mass down, and could not by Reason of the Violence of the Wind purchase their Anchors. On the 4th of November at Noon, it was resolved on board the Dutch Fleet, that Part of the Ships should go into Dartmouth, and the rest into Torbay; but in the Night the Pilots over-shot both, and then it was determined to go into Plymouth, which if they had done, might have proved satal; but the Wind suddenly turning from East to South, corrected the Error of their Pilots, and brought them safe into Torbay, where the Army was immediately landed, and the Prince made the necessary Dispositions for drawing the Country Gentle-

men in the Neighbourhood to join him.

As foon as the Wind would permit, the Earl of Dartmouth, a gallant, loyal and active Officer, weighed with the English Fleet, and flood to Sea, with a Resolution to follow and fight the Dutch. Secretary Burchet and Bishop Burnet seem to contradict each other in what they fay on this Subject: the Secretary informs us, that Lord Dartmouth came before Torbay with his Fleet, and gave the Dutch an Opportunity of feeing what his Strength might enable him to have done, if he had inclined to treat them as enemies. The Prelate on the contrary fays, that Lord Dartmouth affured him fometime after, that whatever Stories the Dutch might have heard either of Officers or Seamen, he was confident they would have fought very heartily. This feeming Contradicton may, however, be eafily reconciled; for this Disposition of fighting, is to be referred to the Time when the English first got to Sea, and then, if they had come up with the Dutch Fleet, it is very probable they had come to Blows, and the Business had been decided by a Battle: But when the Wind turning to the South, carried the Prince's Fleet into Torbay, it forced the English Fleet back, and afterwards rifing into a Storm, ruffled them fo much, that it was two or three Days before Lord Dartmouth came again before Torbay; and then it was, that as Mr. Burchet fays, he shewed the Dutch a Fleet, capable indeed, but little inclined to hurt them. The Seamen had Time in this Space, to confider what they were doing, and fuch of the Officers as were well affected to the Prince's Defign, had an Opportunity of working upon them, and disposing Things for his Service; and thus that Naval Force, which the King had cultivated with fo great Care, U 3

and on which he depended so much, proved of little or no Use, as well as his Army: so difficult a Thing it is to bring Englishmen

to enflave England!

As to the Conduct of the King, after the Arrival of the Dutch Fleet, it was so unaccountable in itself, and so much has been faid of it, by other Writers, that it is absolutely unnecessary for me to infift upon it: I shall only observe, that it was very strange he paid so little Attention to the Fleet, fince, if we except the Care he took in fending away his Family, it does not appear, that he issued any Orders relating thereto; which will feem still the more extraordinary, if we consider, that his Admiral was not only a Man of Quality, and one on whose Fidelity he could absolutely depend; but also an experienced Officer, and a Man extremely beloved by the Sailors ". In all Probability, he was deterred from taking any Measures of this Sort, by what happened at the Docks, where the Workmen employed in the Service of the Royal Navy, role on a fudden, and without any other Arms than the Tools belonging to their Trades, drove out a Regiment of regular Troops quartered at Rochester, and Chatham, and declared for the Protestant Religion, and the Prince of Orange.

IT is also not improbable, that the King was discouraged from making any Applications to the Seamen, in whom he

had

m Admiral Leg had been created Lord Dartmouth by King Charles II. but he received much greater Favours from King James, in whose Reign, he was Master of the Horse, General of the Ordnance, Constable of the Tower of London, one of the Lords of the Privy-Council, Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Fufileers, and Captain of an independent Company of Foot. He was also High Steward of Dartmouth, Kingston upon Thames, and Recorder of Litchfield. In the Year 1687, attending the King in his Progress, and the City of Coventry presenting his Majesty with a large Gold Cup and Cover, he immediately delivered it to the Lord Dartmouth, telling him there was an Acknowledgment from the City of Coventry, for his Father's Sufferings, in their Town; where, during the Civil Wars, he had fuffered a long Imprisonment. The succeeding Year, he was made Admiral of the Fleet of England, then fet out to intercept the Dutch Fleet, bringing over the Prince of Orange; which Employment he accepted, out of Gratitude to the King, who, as Bishop Burnet writes, loved him, and in whose Service and Confidence he had long been. The Bishop also says, that he was indeed one of the worthiest Men of his Court; but he was much against the Conduct of his Affairs; yet he resolved to stick to him at all Hazards. Collins's Peerage of England, vol. iii, p. 108.

had formerly shewn much Considence, by the Revolt of Guernfer and Jursey. Where the People, and especially the Sailors
belonging to the Vessels in their Harbours, seized several Popish
Officers, who had been sent thither to discipline their Militia, and
on other Pretences; and this upon the first News of the Invasion here. To say the Truth the Sea-faring People all over the
Nation, but particularly in Bristol and London, declared unanimously and vehemently against his Measures, and did all in their
Power to prevent the most obnoxious of his Ministers, such as
Chancellor Jessels and Father Petre, from making their Escape:
which can be attributed to nothing but the just Sense they had
of the iniquitous Measures these People had pursued; for, as to

themselves, they had no particular Grievances.

BUT what is still more strange, the King made no use of the French Power at Sea, though he was in the frictest Alliance with that Court. A French Fleet, if fitted out at that Juncture, might have made the Dutch more cautious, even while this Invasion was under their Deliberation. Or, if a French Squadron had joined his own Navy, as in his Brother's Time, when we were engaged in the last Dutch War, this must have had a great Weight. For though in the former Case, the French Squadrons, as we have shewn, never did any Good; yet now the Circumstances of Things being altered, and the French King fo nearly concerned in breaking a Confederacy, which he knew to be forming against him, and of which this was the first apparent Act, as well as in succouring so firm and so useful an Ally; there is Reason to believe his Officers and Seamen would have acted heartily and harmoniously. Besides, the French Naval Power (not without our King's Affistance) was now quite another Thing than it was in the Dutch War, fince very lately they had fought the Dutch upon equal Terms in the Mediterranean with Honour, and confequently were capable of fighting them elsewhere, as the States very well knew, and would have been very unwilling to have run any such Hazard. But above all, in so delicate a Conjuncture, the Appearance of a large French Fleet, would have compelled his own to fight, and in all Probability, would have re-affured the timid, and put sufpected Captains on exerting themselves to wipe out the Imputations of their Enemies. The engaging the Dutch was what he ought chiefly to have aimed at; for an Action must have done him Service, by roufing the Spirits of his Sailors, who would then have banished all Diffidence, and considered nothing but the Support of the English Reputation. These obvious advantages he missed, either from a strong Persuasion that his own U 4

Force was more than fufficient to repel the Invaders; or, as it is commonly reported, by the Advice of the Earl of Sunderland, who discouraged the having Recourse to foreign Affistance from Arguments drawn from the King and Nation's Sasety, and so the King, when he wanted them most, had neither a Fleet of his own, or of his Allies, at his Devotion; which if he had, it is not improbable he might have turned the Tables again, and forced the Dutch off the Coast.

THE Mistakes committed on this Side, were heightened in their Appearance by the great Caution and wise Management on the other; and by the foreseen, and unforeseen Consequences of the whole Transaction. The Embarkation was made with Ease; the Passage better regulated by the Winds, than it could have been by their Prudence; the Descent in the fittest Place in England for landing of Horse, so as that it was performed without Dissiculty, as well as without Danger. Bishop Burnet, therefore, says, truly, that these Lines from Claudian, very happily applied to the Prince of Orange's Expedition.

O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther, Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.

Oh Heaven-protected Chief! whom Skies defend, And on whose call, submissive Winds attend.

In Holland, they triumphed on the exact Execution of the Plan laid down by the States, and the most eminent News-Writer they then had, made this Observation on the Success of the Prince's Enterprize, in his Restections on the History of Europe, for November 1688. "The Expence bestowed on the Fleet and Army, set out from Holland, is a Sign they are morally assured of the Success of the Expedition, which I am apt to think has been a long Time in Agitation, though it was carried with that Prudence and Secrecy, as not to be discovered, till it could be no longer concealed." When Skill, Industry, and Zeal were visibly on the Part of the Prince; and Weakness, Irresolution, and Dissidence apparent in all the King's Measures, it was impossible Things should continue long in Dispute, or that his Highness, who knew so well how to use the Advantages that were in his Hands, should not prevail.

WHEN Lord Dartmouth faw the Disposition of his Officers, and how little it was in his Power to serve his Master, he wisely yielded to Necessity, and failing once again into the

time in!

Downs,

Downs, and there holding a Council of War, it was resolved, first to dismiss from their Commands all such Officers as were known to be Papists, or suspected so to be, and then to send up an Address to his Highness, setting forth their steady Affection to the Protestant Religion, and their sincere Concern for their Safety, Freedom, and Honour of their Country. Not long after this, the Ships were dispersed, some to the Dock-yards, to be dismantled, and laid up, others to be cleaned and repaired; and such as were in the best Condition for the Sea, were appointed

for necessary Uses.

THESE were all the Services performed by the English Navy. during the Reign of a Prince, who, while a Subject, had served and acquired a Reputation at Sea; who understood Maritime Affairs perfectly well, and who attended to them with extraordinary Diligence. But it ought to be remembered, that though this Fleet was useless to him, yet it was of the highest Advantage to the Nation. If he had been less careful in this Respect; if he had left the Navy in a low Condition; nay, if he had left it as he found it at his Brother's Decease, it would have been impossible for us to have withstood the Naval Power of France, which had been for feveral Years growing, and about the Time of the Revolution, or a little before it had attained its greatest Height. As it was, the King left behind him, as numerous and in every Respect as compleat and well furnished a Navy, as England had ever feen; so that when the French came out with such a Strength as amazed all the World, it surprized indeed, but did not fright us. We were quickly in a Condition to look them in the Face, and the subsequent Part of this Work, will shew, that notwithstanding the mighty Change that had happened in a short Time abroad, and the Pains almost every where taken to create a Naval Force, yet we were as able to affert our Sovereignty in our own Seas, and to maintain the Honour of our Flag every where else, as in any preceding Period.

I shall conclude this Volume by exhibiting to the Reader's View, an exact Account of the Fleet and the Condition in which it was left by King James, in order to prove what has been before afferted, and to prepare him for the History of those

Actions at Sea, which followed in the next Reign.

An Abstract of the List of the Royal Navy of England, upon the 18th of December, 1688. With the Force of the Whole.

Ships and Veffels.		Force.	
	Numbe	r. Men.	Guns.
ſ i ·	9	6,705	878
2	11	7,010	974
Rates. 3	39	16,545	2,640
1 4	41	9,480	1,908
15	2	260	60
_ [6	6	420	90
Bombers.	3	120	34
Fire-Ships.	3 26	905	218
Hoys.	6	22	
Hulks.	8	50	
Ketches.	3	115	24
Smacks.	3 5	18	
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	173	42,003	6,930

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